

John Wesley's Eucharist and the Online Eucharist

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Abstract

Since the late 20th century information technology has changed the lives of individuals and relationships at local, nation and even global levels. In particular the internet is used by many religious groups for theological and spiritual purposes. Some parts of Christianity have confronted the issue of how to deal with the use of internet. As a result, an internet church has emerged, offering Eucharistic services online across the globe. Even though the numbers of internet churches/Eucharistic groups have sharply increased in the last two decades, the attitude of the established churches does not appear to have taken account of this change yet. To achieve this it is necessary for such initiatives to be guided by certain theological norms or church regulations. This may relate to the definition of church, Eucharistic theology, or how to deal with emerging cultures. However, no public theological agreement about the development of a cyberspace Eucharist ecumenically, or even within single denominations such as the Methodist church, has yet been achieved.

This thesis sets out to explore the possibility of developing of an internet Eucharist within the context of John Wesley's Eucharistic theology, practice and fervor for communion. Wesley's Eucharistic theology and practice were not simply his own idea or preference. Rather he derived them from various resources from the early Christian to the period of his own life. He also understood the Eucharist in relation to his own engagement with the changing society of his own time. In this context he developed his Methodist Societies as Eucharistic communities within the understanding of the means of grace: instituted and prudential. This study will not only give justification for the online Eucharist, but will also try to investigate how Wesley's theology and practice can inform the practice and theology of the online Eucharist.

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Abbreviations

<i>AM</i>	Arminian Magazine
<i>BCP</i>	<i>Book of Common Prayer</i>
<i>BEM</i>	<i>Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry</i> (1982 Lima Document)
cf.	Refer to
<i>Collection</i>	<i>A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the people called Methodists</i>
CWJ	Charles Wesley's Journal
CWL	Charles Wesley's Letters
<i>ENNT</i>	<i>Explanatory Notes on the New Testament</i>
<i>HLS</i>	<i>Hymns on the Lord's Supper</i> (1745)
HP	Hymns of Psalms
<i>Institutes</i>	The Institutes of Christian Religion(John Calvin)
Journal	John Wesley's Journal
JWL	<i>The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley. A.M.</i> , Standard Edition, Ed. John Telford, 8 vols (London, 1931)
JWW	John Wesley's Writings
Sermon	John Wesley's Sermons (cf. Appendix 2)
<i>Works</i>	Works of John Wesley, bicentennial edition Various editions (Nashville : Abingdon, 1984-2006)
WCC	World Church of Council

Part I

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1. Purpose

The central purpose of this thesis is to analyse the development of an internet church¹, with particular reference to a cyberspace Eucharist. There might be different views regarding the possibility of internet Eucharist which relate to historical theology or denominational background.

Traditionally Christians have gathered in a visible place on Sundays, enabling face to face relationships as well as spiritual relations. Therefore some may worry that the internet church could accelerate the decline of church growth by weakening the local physical community. This weakening may have both political and mission implications.

This thesis will focus on the research of Methodism, particularly, John Wesley, the founder of the Methodist Church in the 18th century. Wesley focused on Eucharistic ministry. Understanding of his stress on the Eucharist can enable today's churches to retain the importance of the Eucharist. It will also reveal the theological significance of the Eucharist and inform its practice. In addition, the patterns of Eucharist current during Wesley's lifetime and the principles behind his Eucharistic theology and practice will be explored. An attempt will be made to adapt Wesley's Eucharistic principles and practice into today's world and the possibility of an internet Eucharist.

There are still many people who do not use the internet across the world, in particular, because of economy, education or age in the poor countries and in some areas in developed countries. However the figures of internet users in United Kingdom have increased. The internet as a contemporary cultural form has changed the lives of 21st century people across the world. One of the outstanding Christian features in the internet is the appearance of internet Eucharist and a cyber church. One of the remarkable features is that this phenomenon is more common amongst Protestants who usually attend less Eucharistic

¹The forms of the internet churches revealed from late 1990s, for instance, 'First International Church of the Web', Established February 7, 1997. Website: <http://ficotw.org/>.

services than the Catholic Churches. Some Protestant ministers have their own interpretation regarding cultural change and react more nimbly. On the contrary the pope of the Roman Catholic Church has not permitted the internet Eucharist.

There have been some questions about the emerging churches in the internet. Is it alright that an established church such as the Methodist church allows people to plant internet churches and create an internet Eucharist without permission from the church conference? So far there has not been certain public statement on the internet churches dealing with the internet Eucharist in particular, in the British Methodist Church. It should be asked that 'Why does one plant the online Eucharist?' Proper proofs of theological justification are needed to be able to develop the Eucharist online. It might be that the experience of God is present in the internet as in the real world. It gives rise to some questions: what is the Eucharist itself? Does the Eucharist really have values of the experience of God even online? How to experience the presence of God online? How does one know the proofs of the presence of God online?

Answers to these questions require Eucharistic theologians to underscore Eucharistic theology and practice. This would improve understanding of the motivation behind the Eucharist and its expectations.

John Wesley, the Methodist founder can be seen as a representative of Protestant Eucharistic theologians. Wesley's Eucharistic concern is exposed in both theology and practice. It reflects how much Wesley had the fervor for the Eucharist and its effects. It would be helpful to confirm the possibility of experiencing the presence of God in/on the Eucharist so that the internet Eucharist can be justified.

First of all, in his writings Wesley revealed his theological views of the Eucharist and its solemn observation. Through researching these the internet Eucharist can reveal how important the Eucharist is for today's Christians, its purpose and the experience of God around the Holy Table.

Beyond this contemporary theology of internet Eucharist has to consider spiritual intention. The development of an internet Eucharist links with ministerial issues. What is the intention of the internet Eucharist? On the other hand, can the internet help people to experience the presence of God? If it can how can this be proved?

1. The Internet for religious purposes

It is clear that a lot of Internet users are interested in the Internet in order to search for religious purposes today. For instance, there are two recent reports: the Pew Internet & American Life Project survey and The Internet Evangelism Coalition (IEC).

First is from the Pew Internet & American Life Project survey.²In 2004 the report, "Faith Online"(7/April), described the trend of the religious and spiritual purposes Internet users in America.³ Stewart Hoover, Lynn Schofield Clark of the CU-Boulder School of Journalism, and Mass Communication illustrated that among the most popular and important spiritually related Internet activities are:

- 38 percent of the nation's 128 million Internet users have sent and received e-mail with spiritual content
- 35 percent have sent or received online greeting cards related to religious holidays
- 32 percent have gone online to read news accounts of religious events and affairs
- 21 percent have sought information about how to celebrate religious holidays
- 17 percent have looked for information about where they could attend religious services

² It is conducted by two University of Colorado at Boulder professors. April 27, 2004

³ <http://www.pewinternet.org/Reports/2004/Faith-Online.aspx>(Accessed10/Oct/2008). The report, "Faith Online", also is said that those who use the Internet for religious or spiritual purposes are more likely to be women, white, middle-aged, college educated, and relatively well-to-do. They are somewhat more active as Internet users than the rest of the Internet population.

- 14 percent have used e-mail to plan church meetings
- 11 percent have downloaded or listened to religious music online
- 7 percent have made or responded to online prayer requests
- 7 percent have made donations to religious organizations or charities

The report says that 'The 64 percent of Internet users who perform spiritual and religious activities online represent nearly 82 million Americans'. This means there has been much impact of the Internet on religion. Hoover noted that "The survey provides clear evidence that the majority of the online faithful are there for personal spiritual reasons, including seeking outside their own traditions," he added, "but they are also deeply grounded in those traditions, and this Internet activity supplements their ties to traditional institutions, rather than moving them away from church." The survey found that two-thirds of those who attend religious services weekly use the Internet for personal religious or spiritual purposes. Clark said, "The online faithful are quite serious about their spiritual journeys, and they are committed to those in their social networks who accompany them on those journeys," and "Most of the online faithful describe themselves as spiritual and religious and that is a perfect characterization of their use of the Internet. They probe for information and network with others in order to enrich their spiritual lives."

- 28 percent of the online faithful said they had used the Internet to seek or exchange information about their own religious faith or tradition with others
- 26 percent said they had used the Internet to seek or exchange information about the religious faiths or traditions of others

This report revealed that online evangelicals are a significant subgroup of the American religious landscape. They are slightly less experienced in Internet use than other categories of religious affiliation. Nevertheless, they are more likely than others to engage in all

categories of online religious activity.⁴

Second is the Internet Evangelism Coalition (IEC).⁵ This group uses the concept of Internet mission. According to IEC, there has already been a meeting among Internet missionaries in the internet. The report by IEC indicates that number of Internet users is expanding. Dennis Fierbach⁶ reported that a site, <http://www.TruthMedia.com> attracted more than 750,000 visitors a month with some 1,000 people a month making a decision for Christ. Sterling Huston reported about the power of the Internet noting that, "The strategy of the Great Commission is not that they come to us, but that we go to them." and he stressed the opportunities that the Internet opens up to take the gospel into the international "digital marketplace."⁷

There have been much deeper tasks, as in IEC meeting, that Internet evangelism practitioners shares their tasks. Andrew Careaga pointed out how the trend toward "blogging" should be to Jesus. And Cheryl Wilhelmi⁸ discussed the importance of offering people help in life crises as well as long-term hope in Christ.⁹

It is admitted that religious groups have been rapidly expanding in the internet such as Christian churches at least in developed area, nations across the world.

1.1. The Internet bible community

In Britain, internet worship can use the Internet bible on the computer screen. This mode of

⁴ Cf. <http://www.religionnews.com> (Accessed February 15, 2013)

⁵ Cf. *Internet Evangelism* / September 28, 2004; John Mark Ministries / Saturday, 2 October 2004. The site is <http://jmm.aaa.net.au>. IEC that is organized by Christian Internet specialist has met in Chicago as an annual meeting Tuesday-Wednesday (14-15), Sep, 2004.

⁶ Fierbach is the vice president of information technology for Campus Crusade for Christ in Canada.

⁷ *Internet Evangelism*, Ibid.

⁸ Wilhelmi is a project manager of Focus on the Family's counseling site, www.Troubledwith.com.

⁹ Mission Network News/Agape Press.

the bible is new to worship as well as mission. In the competition between church and culture¹⁰, culture seems to be winning, just as it did, for instance, in the sixteenth century, when printed books supplanted manuscripts. The Council of Trent had to embrace the “cutting-edge” technology of its time. As a result, all reformed post-Tridentine liturgical books (beginning with the Breviary in 1568 and ending the Ritual in 1614) were *printed* works. Later, the technology of printing permitted the creation of what came to be known as *editions typicae*, official editions of liturgical rites that could be used as sanctioned standards of comparison for all other printed texts. This served the church’s purpose of creating a truly ‘global’ liturgy that would be uniformed in many churches.¹¹

Scripture on cyberspace is one meeting place where the incarnation of God can be explored. The Incarnation is God’s will to meet human need and involves the Cross of Jesus which demonstrates atonement for sinners. The scripture has passed down its intention from the beginning of the church to today.

The forms of the bible in the internet have varied according to times, different cultures and human technology. Today, the ‘written page’ of the scriptures has become a ‘screen’ over which we have enormous editorial power. Ivan Illich has written “the book has ... ceased to be the root-metaphor of the age; the screen has taken its place. The alphabetic text has become but one of many modes of encoding something ... called “the message”.¹² In fact, the computer ages can read the bible easily rather than when it was written by hands. However, nobody ignores the bible as a premier Christian symbol and has ‘the message’ even on the Internet. It means material forms or technologies do not limit the message of the

¹⁰ Helmut Richard Niebuhr’s *Christ and Culture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952). Niebuhr followed the methodology of Ernest Troeltsh, who wrote ‘Social teaching of Christ Church’ and devoted the problem of the relationship between Church and Culture. Roughly, Niebuhr’s view is divided into three parts. First: Opposites (Christ against Culture), Second: Accordant form (Christ of Culture), and third: Synthetic forms, holding two-sides, Affirmative and Negative. The latter is divided into three: Transcendental Form (Christ above Culture) both in consecutive and discontinuous forms and Dualistic Form (Christ and Culture in paradox), which separates Christ and Culture, and Transformable Culture Form.

¹¹ See Nathan D. Mitchell, ‘Ritual and New Media’, *Concilium*, No.1(2005), pp.93-94.

¹² Ivan Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1994), p.3.

scripture.

1.2. Fresh fellowship in the Internet church.

Some people may be worried that the Internet has broken human fellowship. We live in a fragmented world. Many people feel polarized from one another. Some people enjoy being without face to face relationships. Thus, a sense of relatedness with others tends to get reduced to fewer and fewer people. Even the extended families of older cultures are giving way to a form of rugged individualism, where personal freedom becomes the key virtue. However, in the Internet there has been a new style of global relationship. I think the Eucharistic community can give an opportunity of finding new friends. Week after week, as the Internet churches celebrate communion, Christians have been coming together as a church community “in memory” of Jesus. That is a really Christian community. I think that is why the mystery of the Eucharist, the gift of Christ’s Body and Blood, gives a power of making peace and reconciliation on the Internet

2. Emerging virtual Eucharist on the Internet

This thesis is about a contemporary approach to internet theology, one that pays especial attention to the virtual Eucharist which distinguishes Christianity from other religions. The virtual world has speedily spread across the real world since late in the last century. The internet as a particular feature of contemporary culture has challenged Christians to develop an internet theology because there is already an internet church or cyber church¹³. One challenge is how to deal with the Eucharist as a Christian rite which contains Christian spirituality of theology and practice.

¹³ Internet church or Cyber church mean the body of all Christians who interact using global computer network in cyberspace. Cyberspace as the electronic world is made as those who use the internet that is a global network of millions of computer users.

Today the Internet creates new forms of communication such as SNS (Social Network Service). The current trend of mobile phones having an internet function is helping to bring about revolutionary changes in politics, economy, education, tourism, and journalism: the relationship of nation to nation and culture to culture even religious revival.

The modern media enables social communication. The media can carry news and information about Christian events, ideas, and personalities; they serve; they provide inspiration and opportunities for worship to persons confined to their homes or to institutions in distance. For Christians, the media is understood as 'gift of God' to help, to unite and to transmit the message of salvation not only among Christians, but also non-Christians. The media offer benefits and advantages from a religious perspective. Before the emergence of the internet there had been other mass Medias such as Radio, TV, Satellite, which are still used.

The internet is so powerful to individuals as well as at a public and global level. It seems that the technology of Internet has produced the fastest skill of social communication. It has overcome the limitations of time and locations such as on the train in the deep tunnel or on the airplane in the high air without wires with the Wi-Fi. Through the use of SNS world internet users can communicate as in real time. So many Christian communities have taken a fundamentally positive approach to the internet with conditions of understanding of right use in moral and in gospel even though some worries serious issues regarding internet addicts, internet frauds, internet hackings, an economical gap between the rich and the poor, and so on.

Thus, the Church has had a three-fold aim regarding the media of the internet: in moral, social and religious communications. One aspect in relation to morality is to encourage the right development and use of the Internet for the sake of human development, justice, and peace—for the better society at the local, national, and community levels. The second

social aim is to concentrate on kind and respectful dialogue with all people throughout the world. The aim of the church is to offer encouragement to those who need to be supported. On the basis of sympathetic support through the internet, it becomes possible to offer meaningful access for removing obstacles to human progress. It helps to develop Christian activities and Christian lifestyles. It retains the desire of Christian piety at home or at work during weekdays and weekends. It would be with time of prayers or reading Bible or attending in a liturgy on the internet of recorded or coverage. Although the virtual reality of cyberspace cannot substitute for real interpersonal community, the incarnational reality of the sacraments and the liturgy, or the immediate and direct proclamation of the gospel, it can complement them, attract people to a fuller experience of the life of faith, and enrich the religious lives of users. It also provides the Church with a means for communicating with particular groups—young people and young adults, the elderly and home-bound, persons living in remote areas, the members of other religious bodies—who otherwise may be difficult to reach.

Along with the powerful function of the internet to communicate, one that pays particular attention to the internet churches with implementing internet Eucharist for the encouragement of Christian spiritual life. The advocates of an internet church have developed Eucharistic sacraments online. For instance, '*The London Internet Church*' exists in the principles of the Anglican Communion daily prayer and the Eucharist as the core of worship.¹⁴ However, Methodist churches have not made public statements about the internet Eucharist.

This thesis has four parts. Part II will deal with Wesley's Eucharistic life in practice and in theology. Part III will talk about the decline in the Wesleyan Eucharist after Wesley's death and the renewal of Wesley's Eucharistic theology in the new context of the liturgical movement, the ecumenical movement, globalization and the current multi-religious era. Part

¹⁴ www.londoninternetchurch.org.uk/(accessed 12/9/2012)

IV will go on to present a theology of the internet Eucharist based on Wesley's Eucharistic theology, with a conclusion including suggestions for practical applications and tasks left to study.

Chapter 2. Methodology

1. Wesley's Eucharist and the justification of an online Eucharist

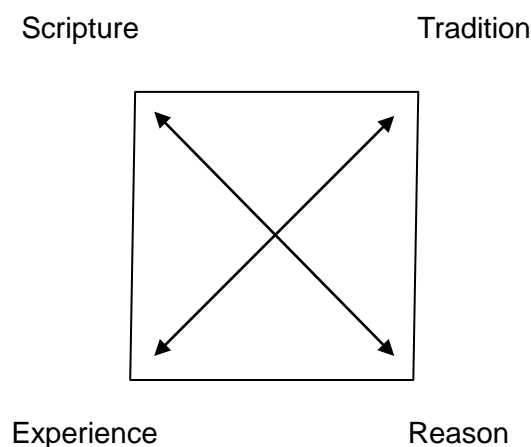
It is reasonable that because I am a Methodist I focus my research on John Wesley's Eucharistic theology, its practice and his Eucharistic society. When Wesley founded the Methodist society, he stressed the Church as Eucharistic community. An understanding of the place of Eucharistic worship in Wesley's spirituality can help today's worshippers to understand Wesley's Eucharistic life and its contemporary relevance for the Church.

After researching Wesley's Eucharist of theology and practice, it becomes possible to establish a framework for the institution of the online Eucharist. Such research requires a focus on liturgical, historical and theological factors and questions.

If specific cases of the usage of theological tools can be identified in Wesley's Eucharistic ministry, how might these enable the development of the online Eucharist? Wesley's understanding of the Eucharist as the 'means of grace' provides a theological foundation for an online Eucharist. Wesley's understanding of the means of grace asserts the essential nature of the Eucharist, but also points towards the creation of tools through which it is possible to articulate a Eucharistic spirituality. What I want to deal with is the development of tools for today in relation to cyberspace and the internet. Can the internet Eucharist carry a Eucharistic spirituality through the practice of Eucharistic worship on the internet? The internet can become a prudential means of grace for contemporary world but is the development of an internet church that administrates the Eucharist possible? This question raises different practical issues.

2. Quadrilateral

To prove the justification of the Eucharistic theology and practice of John Wesley it would be helpful to refer to Outler's terms: Quadrilateral. This term was not used by John Wesley. Generally speaking, since Outler stated that the theological tools Wesley used are Scripture, Reason, Tradition and Experience in 1970's, the term has become generally accepted. The term, quadrilateral, was publicly first mentioned in the 1972 *Book of Discipline of The United Methodist Church* and recurred in the 1992 *Discipline*, which states that the living core of the Christian faith 'stands revealed in Scripture, illumined by tradition, vivified in personal and corporate experience, and confirmed by reason.'¹⁵ Scripture is the pre-eminent norm but interfaced with tradition, reason, and Christian experience as dynamic and interactive aids in the interpretation of the Word of God in Scripture.¹⁶ By utilizing those, he was able to state the confirmation of ministerial methods in theology and practice. Outler states that it is important not to merely imitate what Wesley did, but to utilize his sources for developing a method that is contemporary and ecumenical.¹⁷



Each component of the Quadrilateral has its own role in the development of Christian

¹⁵ *The Book of Discipline of The United Methodist Church*, 1992 (Nashville: The United Methodist Publishing House, 1992), p. 50; Cited by John B. Cobb, Jr., *Grace & Responsibility: A Wesleyan Theology for Today* (America: Abingdon Press: 1995), p. 156.

¹⁶ Albert C. Outler, *The Wesleyan Theological Heritage; essays of Albert C. Outler* ed. Thomas C. Oden & Leicester R. Longden (U.S.A: Zondervan Publishing House, 1991), p. 25.

¹⁷ Donald Thorsen discusses the ecumenical nature of the Wesleyan quadrilateral in *The Wesleyan Quadrilateral: Scripture, Reason, Tradition, and Experience as a Model of Evangelical Theology*. (Nappanee, IN: Francis Asbury Press, 1990).

perfection in Christian life. The shape of quadrilateral can vary (such as parallelogram, convex, concave, kite, Square, Rectangle, and Isosceles Trapezoid) but if one or two of the elements is missing such as shape of triangle it cannot fully express Christian faithful life.

2.1. Scripture

Scripture provided Wesley with a constant and ultimate source of knowledge and authority in relation to his Eucharistic theology and practice.¹⁸ Wesley believed the "written word of God to be the only and sufficient rule both of Christian faith and practice".¹⁹ In a letter, Wesley wrote:

I therein build on no authority, ancient or modern, but the Scripture. If this supports any doctrine, it will stand; if not, the sooner it falls the better. Neither the doctrine in question (Christian perfection) nor any other is anything to me, unless it is the doctrine of Christ and His Apostles.²⁰

Cobb notes:

"No theologian or preacher had ever been more scriptural than Wesley. A typical paragraph from one of his sermons is full of scriptural quotations. Even the material not placed in quotation marks contains words and phrases from the Bible."²¹

Outler states that any serious consideration of the role of scripture in Wesleyan tradition should always be done with attention to the full range of the means of grace. This attention is crucial if we are to be true not only to John Wesley in his day, but also true to the very

¹⁸ Robert W. Burtner & Robert E. Chiles, *John Wesley's Theology-A collection from his Works* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1982), p. 17.

¹⁹ Works, 8:340. "The Character of a Methodist."

²⁰ Letters, III, p. 157.

²¹ Cobb, 1995, p. 162.

sources Wesley used and the implications of those sources for our day.²²

In his sermon, “means of grace,” Wesley said,

“Consequently, all Scripture is infallibly²³ true; and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.”²⁴

It can be said that in the “Catholic” framework, the tradition of the Church is the final authority in matters of faith and order, whereas in “Classical Protestantism” it is the living word of God as recorded in Scripture that is the final authority. Colin W. Williams claims that “Wesley would seem to fit neatly into the ‘Classical Protestant mold’” in following the Reformer’s principle of “‘*sola scriptura*’ in the sense that Scripture is the final authority in matters of faith and practice.”²⁵ Therefore the fundamental reason for the centrality of the Eucharist rests on the authority of Scripture; on Jesus’ command as well the Wesley’s in Methodism. The scripture also gives some crucial practical ideas of ministry.

2.2. Tradition

An understanding of early church tradition can help us to understand theological issues regarding the Eucharist and its importance. As an ‘Elder’ of the Church of England, there is no question that Wesley held ‘Tradition’ in high regard. However it is important to note that he never put ‘Tradition’ ahead of ‘Scripture’.²⁶

Wesley once remarked to one of his advocates Adam Clark: ‘if I were to write my own life I

²² Albert C. Outler, "A New Future for Wesley Studies: An Agenda for 'Phase III'" in *The Future of the Methodist Theological Traditions*, ed. M. Douglas Meeks (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1985), pp.46-47.

²³ It does not mean the biblical literalism.

²⁴ Works, V, p. 193.

²⁵ Colin Williams, *John Wesley's Theology Today* (London: Epworth Press, 1960), pp. 22, 26.

²⁶ Young-Tae Han, *Systematic Theology in John Wesley* (Seoul: Sung Kwang Publishing Co., 1996), p. 15. This book is written in Korean.

should begin it before I was born.’²⁷ Wesley understood the importance of social background. ‘Tradition’ as the second source was essential for interpretation of the Bible.

Wesley studied many genres, in particular, a fondness for the Church Fathers of the early centuries such as the pre-Nicene Fathers, the Western and Eastern Fathers like Augustine, St. Chrysostom, Basil, Jerome, and also later theologians, like Thomas á Kempis, Jeremy Taylor, William Law,²⁸ as well as the man of a broken heart, Ephraim Syrus. Outler notes that Wesley thought that the Greek theologians had understood the Gospel more profoundly and therapeutically than their Latin counterparts.²⁹ Furthermore Whaling states that Wesley was also deeply influenced by one of the greatest Eastern monks and writers on Christian perfection, Gregory of Nyssa.³⁰

Later, Wesley was impressed by many western figures such as Puritan writers (John Bunyan, Richard Baxter, John Owen, Samuel Annesley, John Preston, Samuel Rutherford, Richard, and Joseph Allein). In addition, he was deeply spurred by Calvinists and Jonathan Edwards - Wesley admired, “That good and sensible man... that great man.”³¹ Indeed, Wesley did not hesitate to search various ministerial theories and theologies through reading and talks in relation to Arminianism, Roman Catholicism, Pelagianism, Mysticism, Quakerism, Greek Fathers, the classical Reformation with Calvin, Luther and his followers. The *Christian Library* he collected for his followers is a result of his reading of various Christian writers who were from the Church of England, the Moravian Church and Radical Protestantism, Roman Catholic Mysticism, Puritanism, Eastern Orthodoxy and Arminianism.

As Wesley no doubt made his own doctrine, many traditional directions influenced it. It is

²⁷ Cited by George H. Lockett, ‘The Methodist Tradition of Worship,’ in John Stacey (ed), In *Church: An Introduction to Worship and Preaching* (London: The Garden City Press Limited, 1971), p. 51.

²⁸ William H. Boley, ‘Wesleyan Ethics,’ in John Macquarrie & James Childress (eds.), *New Dictionary of Christian Ethics* (London: SCM Press, 1986), p. 658.

²⁹ Outler, *The Wesleyan Theological Heritage*, p. 31.

³⁰ Frank Whaling (ed.), *John and Charles Wesley: Selected Prayers, Hymns, Journal Notes, Sermons, Letters and Treatises* (London: SPCK, 1981), p. 8.

³¹ Works, XX, pp. 463-475.

clear that Wesley's Eucharistic doctrine and practice were influenced by tradition: early father's writings, protestant reformers, Armenians and Anglican writers.

2.3. Reason

The third aspect "Reason" as a human ability is highly regarded by Wesley as an educated and rational man. He defined reason as a "faculty of the human soul."³² He understood the level of reason for preaching and persuading the truth of God to people. Reason for Wesley is a God-given gift that enables us to interpret Scripture, Tradition, and Experience in light of the world in which we find ourselves. In a letter to Dr. Rutherford, Wesley wrote "It is a fundamental principle with us (the Methodists) that to renounce reason is to renounce religion, that religion and reason go hand in hand, and that all irrational religion is false religion."³³ Outler said,

'Wesley's understanding of reason led him to a religious epistemology that hinges, crucially, on his view of intuition as a "spiritual sensorium" in the human mind that constitutes what is most distinctively human, viz., our capacity for God.'³⁴

Wesley showed the important role of reason. On 1 Corinthians 14:20, Wesley commented, "Knowing religion was not designed to destroy any of our natural faculties, but to exalt and improve them, our reason in particular."³⁵ Consequently, Williams too comments on the role of Wesley's "Reason":

"the importance of reason is not that it provides another source of revelation, but that it is a logical faculty enabling us to order the evidence of revelation; and that, with tradition, it

³² Works, VI, p. 356.

³³ Letters, V, p. 364.

³⁴ Outler, *The Wesleyan Theological Heritage*, p. 33.

³⁵ Notes, p. 630.

provides us with the necessary weapons for guarding against the dangers of the unbridled interpretation of Scripture.”³⁶

With Reason we can study and grow in knowledge and make judgments about discipleship in the world. By using Reason to shed light on the Scripture, Tradition and Experience, Eucharist Christian formation deepens.

2.4. Experience

The fourth element of the Quadrilateral is the “experience” of salvation. Williams suggests that the centrality of experience in Wesley’s theology may be as a result of his Aldersgate conversion in London on the evening of May 24 1738. The reading heard by John Wesley of the passage from Luther’s *Preface to the Romans* at “about a quarter before nine”³⁷ came at the culmination of a period of spiritual turmoil following his unsuccessful time in Georgia and spiritual depressions. Wesley felt “strangely warmed” in his heart, and was assured that he had received the gift of living personal faith in Christ. This experience provided the decisive assurance of salvation and allowed Wesley to move on in his spiritual pilgrimage to work with the societies he formed and the people called Methodists he encountered in open-air preaching in Bristol.³⁸ Tim Macquiban also notes, “A new confidence was born in the experience, which confirmed his call to ministry and gave him fresh heart for the evangelistic tasks ahead in mission and service to all God’s creatures.”³⁹ After this Wesley stressed

³⁶ Williams, 1960, p. 32.

³⁷ Wesley’s “Aldersgate experience” on 24 May 1738 in his Journal, writing:

“In the evening I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate-Street, where one was reading Luther’s preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation: And an assurance was given me, that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death.”

³⁸ Tim Macquiban, ‘Aldersgate Experience,’ in Charles Yrigoyen, JR. & Susan E. Warrick (eds.), *Historical Dictionary of Methodism* (London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc, 1996), pp. 17-18.

³⁹ Ibid.

spiritual experience and guided other peoples' spiritual welfare in light of his own experience.⁴⁰ Wesley experienced the truth in the scripture. Colin Williams expressed it as, "Wesley's experience was not the test of truth, but truth the test of experience." However, he insisted not on 'trying Scripture by his experience,' but 'trying his experience by the Scripture.'⁴¹ Williams noted that,

Wesley feared any approach to doctrine and worship which overlooked the necessity for personal experience, but he equally feared any reliance upon experience which left the question of truth to the vagaries of individual or collective feeling. He knew the danger of the Christian faith being torn from its historical moorings by being subjected to the vagaries and limitations of human experience, and so he insisted upon the priority of the Word.⁴²

Williams considered Wesley's Quadrilateral to be an expression of his stand "with the Classical Protestant view of authority in exalting the Scriptures as the final authority in matters of faith and practice", like reformers, Luther and Calvin, "in relating the authority of Scripture to experience by the living witness of the Holy Spirit." Wesley also shared "a good deal of the Catholic view in the vital place he gives to tradition - particularly the tradition of the early undivided Church and the historic forms of the Church order and worship" and "in the Free Church emphasis on experience."⁴³ Williams had a quotation that Outler said that Wesley's pneumatology was not just a category in his theology, but is intricately connected to his overall theology in the Quadrilateral. Throughout the sermons, hymns, journals, and the *Explanatory Note Upon the New Testament* what Wesley always leaned on emphasis on the person and work of the Spirit.⁴⁴ For example, his strong emphasis on experience of the

⁴⁰ Arnett, *John Wesley: Man of One Book*, p. 72.

⁴¹ Williams, 1960, p. 34.

⁴² Ibid., pp. 33-34.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 37.

⁴⁴ For John Wesley's pneumatology Cf., Albert C. Outler, "A Focus on the Holy Spirit: Spirit and Spirituality in John Wesley." *Quarterly Review* (1988); Randy L. Maddox, who says, "that Wesley placed the Spirit at the center of the Christian life." *Responsible Grace*. p. 119; Lycurgus M. Starkey, Jr., *The Work of the Holy Spirit: A Study in Wesleyan Theology* (New York: Abington, 1962); Timothy L.

Holy Spirit and Christian perfection could have led to fanatical extremism. This did not occur because of Wesley's emphasis on reason (loving God with one's whole mind), and his conviction that 'faith working by love' was the supreme test of Christian character. Furthermore, Wesley's quadrilateral method was applied not only to his theology, but also to his practical ministry. This really helped Wesley to keep balance and harmony in his theology and ministry. It made him open his mind "to the differing witness of the various traditions,"⁴⁵ criticize them by reason, illuminate them by Scripture and practice from his experience in Christian life. Taylor said, "Any such attempt to see Wesleyanism through a single lens runs the risk of distorting or excluding important strands of doctrine."⁴⁶ That is why Wesley is called a "harmony theologian."

Smith, *The Holy Spirit in Hymns of Wesley*, WTJ, 16: 2, (1981); A. Skevington Wood, "John Wesley, Theologian of the Spirit," *Theological Renewal* 6 (1977); and by Laurence W. Wood, *The Meaning of Pentecost in Early Methodism: Rediscovering John Fletcher as Wesley's Vindicator and Designated Successor* (Scarecrow Press, 2003).

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 37-38.

⁴⁶ Richard S. Taylor, 'Historical and Modern Significance of Wesleyan Theology,' in Charles W. Carter (ed.), *A Contemporary Wesleyan Theology: Biblical, Systematic, and Practical*, Vol. I (America: Schmuel Publishing Co., Inc., 1992), p. 55.

Part II

Wesley's Practice and Theology

Chapter 1. The Literature

In any study of Wesley's Eucharistic theology and practice the resources he left must be significant: Journals, Sermons, Letters, Works of Hymn books, Magazines, and Scriptural Commentaries. In addition, during or after his life there have been other materials such as the work of his brother Charles Wesley⁴⁷ or the secondary resources which refer to Wesley's original literature, all of which are also valuable when studying Wesley's ideas about the Eucharist. Particularly, since the twentieth century there have been helpful studies in arrangement of Wesley's works.

First, there have been synthetic studies, for instance, George Croft Cell, *The Re-Discovery of John Wesley* (1934), famously characterized Wesleyan theology as 'an original and unique synthesis of the Protestant ethic of grace with the Catholic ethic of holiness'. Cell noted that Wesley's theology is some kind of synthesis, or at least that it is eclectic, drawing from a wide range of traditions – the Greek Fathers, the medieval, spiritual writers, the Reformers, the Pietists and Puritans and the seventeenth-century 'holy living' school of the Church of England –exhibiting what Wesley himself called 'the catholic spirit'. In addition, the Cambridge scholar, R. Newton Flew, published *The Idea of Perfection in Christian Theology* (1934) that traces its deep and wide sources as to Wesley's doctrine of Christian Perfection in the enormous tradition of the church catholic. In 1937, Maximin Piette distinguished Wesley from a Roman Catholic perspective in *John Wesley and the Evolution of Protestantism*.

Between the 1940s and 1950s several books of note appeared. W.E. Sangster, attempted to re-exam Wesley's controversial doctrine of Christian Perfection in *The Path to Perfection*

⁴⁷ Charles Wesley who founded the first Methodist group, Holy club, in 1726, Oxford, was along with the beginning of Methodist movement. He worked with the whole ministerial life of John Wesley.

(London: Epworth Press, 1943), but the most scholarly study of this doctrine was published in 1946 by the Swedish scholar, Harald Lindström, *Wesley and Sanctification*. William R. Cannon, in his book, *The Theology of John Wesley, with Special Reference to the Doctrine of Justification* (1946), presented a very Reformed Wesley. John Bishop's book *Methodist Worship in Relation to Free Church Worship* (London; Epworth Press 1950) provides us with a deeper understanding of Wesley's life of worship. A German, Franz Hildebrandt, the associate of Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Martin Niemöller, who fled to Britain during the Second World War and became a Methodist minister, searched for the influence of Luther in *From Luther to Wesley* (1951). Particularly, Eric Baker who contributed with the book *The Faith of A Methodist* (1958) examined the doctrines of Methodism.

During the 1960s interest in Wesley's theology widened. John Deschner published his dissertation on Wesley's Christology, *Wesley's Christology: an Interpretation* (1960) and John R. Renshaw completed a thesis on Wesley's doctrine of the Atonement (Boston, 1965). In the circumstance of ecumenical discussions, Colin Williams published *John Wesley's Theology Today* (1960), which is considered a leading comprehensive treatment of Wesley's theology (in terms of salvation) in a systematic rather than a historical way. John Newton (1964) and Robert Monk (1966) examined Wesley's inheritance from the English Puritans.⁴⁸ Arthur Skevington Wood published a biography of John Wesley, *The Burning Heart: John Wesley – Evangelist* (1967).

Meanwhile, perhaps the most outstanding work of the 1960s was from American theologians. The work of Albert C. Outler (1908-1989), for example, was significant and, in particular his 1961 article, 'Towards a Re-appraisal of John Wesley as a Theologian'. Outler began to argue that Wesley should be re-evaluated as a major theologian.⁴⁹ This recovery of

⁴⁸ Robert C. Monk, *John Wesley: His Puritan Heritage* (Abingdon, 1966) and John Newton, *Methodism and the Puritans* (Dr William's Library Trust, 1964)

⁴⁹ Albert Outler, 'Towards a Re-appraisal of John Wesley as a Theologian,' *The Perkins School of*

Wesley's significance as a theologian led to the launching of a project to produce a critical edition of *The Works of John Wesley*, published at first by Oxford and taken over by Abingdon. By 2012 twenty six volumes had been published.⁵⁰ There has been a modern publication in form of CD-ROM (Abandon press, 2005, edited by Richard P. Heitzenrater) which is with *The Works of John Wesley - The Bicentennial Edition*. It contains Sermons (Vols. 1–4), Hymns (Vol. 7), and Journals (Vols. 18–24). Outler and Frank Baker were the erudite editors of the earliest volumes. It was also Outler who suggested that Wesley's theological method could be described as 'quadrilateral'. Wesley's methodology has influenced both academic and practical theology.

The 1970s saw two biographies, the completion of Martin Schmidt's two-volume work, *John Wesley: A Theological Biography* (Vol. I in 1962, Vol. II:1 in 1972 and Vol. II:2 in 1973), and Robert G. Tuttle's *John Wesley: His Life and Theology* (1978).

In the 1980s, Gordon Rupp wrote *John Wesley and Martin Luther* (1983), Philip Watson

Theology Journal, 14 (1961), pp.5-14, reprinted in *The Wesleyan Theological Heritage* (ed. Oden & Longden, Zondervan, 1991), pp. 40-54.

⁵⁰ Cf. *the complete works of John Wesley*. Visit to <http://www.godrules.net/library/wesley/wesley.htm>. (Accessed February 16. 2013). *The Works of John Wesley: The Bicentennial Edition*, for instance,

Volume 1: *Sermons I* (1–33)

Volume 2: *Sermons II* (34–70)

Volume 3: *Sermons III* (71–114)

Volume 4: *Sermons IV* (115–51)

Volume 7: *A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists*
(hereafter *Collection*)

Volume 9: *The Methodist Societies: History, Nature, and Design*

Volume 10: *The Methodist Societies, The Minutes of Conference*

Volume 11: *The Appeals to Men of Reason and Religion and Certain Related Open Letters*

Volume 12: *Doctrinal and Controversial Treatises I*

Volume 18: *Journals and Diaries I* (1735–1738)

Volume 19: *Journal and Diaries II* (1738–1743)

Volume 20: *Journal and Diaries III* (1743–1754)

Volume 21: *Journal and Diaries IV* (1755–1765)

Volume 22: *Journal and Diaries V* (1765–1775)

Volume 23: *Journal and Diaries VI* (1776–1786)

Volume 24: *Journal and Diaries VII* (1787–1791)

Volume 25: *Letters I* (1721–1739)

Volume 26: *Letters II* (1740–1755)

compared the thinking of Luther and Wesley on the authority of the Bible. The book, *John Wesley: Contemporary perspectives*⁵¹ (1988) has illustrated some themes of Methodism including Wesley's inspiration, Sacramental theology and worship in up-to date perception. Henry Rack produced what remains the most highly regarded biography, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* (1989). As both a biography and a history of early Methodism, this book demonstrates the tension in Wesley's thought between 'reason' and 'experience' so making him not an 'enthusiast' (meaning 'fanatic' or 'mania') like the sects, but a '*reasonable* enthusiast'. The statement summarises Wesley's thinking about the Eucharist.

The 1990s saw several works that attempted to present Wesley's theology systematically. Maddox draws on research into Wesley's indebtedness to the Greek fathers (researched by Dr McCormick) much of which had been collected by Ted Campbell in *John Wesley and Christian Antiquity* (1991). Kenneth J. Collins presented a somewhat different perspective in two books, *A Faithful Witness: John Wesley's Homiletical Theology* (1993) and *The Scripture Way of Salvation: The Heart of John Wesley's Theology* (1997). Randy Maddox's *Responsible Grace: John Wesley's Practical Theology* (1994) is a work based on what appears to be a fairly exhaustive bibliography. Theodore H. Runyon presented his perspective in *The New Creation: John Wesley's Theology Today* (1998), and Herbert B. McGonigle examined Wesley's Arminianism in *Sufficient Saving Grace: John Wesley's Evangelical Arminianism* (2001). Most recently, David M. Chapman has provided a remarkable analysis of Methodist worship songs, *Born in Song: Methodist worship in Britain* (2006). He admits that Methodist worship is not fixed in place and time but asserts that it focuses largely on the beliefs of the worshipping community. Kenneth J. Collins has produced a major work, *The Theology of John Wesley: Holy Love and the Shape of Grace* (2007).

⁵¹ John Stacey edited it (Epworth Press, 1988).

In terms of Methodist Eucharistic theology and practice, much has been written. Well known books include those by Earnest Rattenbury: *The Eucharistic Hymns of John and Charles Wesley* (1948, edited by Timothy J Couch 1990), John Bowmer: *The Sacraments of the Lord's Supper in Early Methodism* (1951) and Ole E Borgen: *John Wesley on the Sacraments: A theological study* (1986). Also there have been introductions to Methodist worship in magazines, journals and periodicals such as *One in Christ, Journal of Ecumenical Studies and Worships*, which have introduced Wesley's theology and Methodist worship for contemporary churches. However, there is a lack of focused long term research on leadership in teaching, training, investigating and contemporary Methodist Eucharist theology and early Methodist Eucharistic practice. Most of the authors mentioned above have retired or died, meaning that there is no contemporary figure focusing on Methodist Eucharistic theology. Furthermore very few people have dealt with the issue of the internet church in relation to Methodist theology. The resources referred to above have not explored the issue of a Eucharistic internet church.

Chapter 2. General and Eucharistic background in the Eighteenth Century

1. General background

People cannot be understood without reference to their cultural background.⁵² Herbert Butterfield notes 'When John Wesley was born in 1703 some of the most significant turning-points in England and European history had just been passed.'⁵³ Wesley was high-educated and experienced the rapid social change of the eighteenth century. He reflected the culture of the eighteenth century in relation to geography, history, statecraft, science, medicine, classical literature, oratory, biography, poetry, fiction, state ethics and religion.⁵⁴ So it can be supposed that his Eucharistic view and life were formed within 18th century cultural backgrounds.

1.1. Social Order

Except for a few years in America Wesley lived all of his life in Britain. In the eighteenth century Britain had a far smaller population than these days; and was predominantly rural. Whilst life seemed unchanging the century witnessed huge changes in society.

⁵² Philip F. Eisler, *The First Christians in their social worlds-social scientific approaches to New Testament Interpretation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 1.

⁵³ Herbert Butterfield, 'England in the Eighteenth Century' in Rupert Davies and Gordon Rupp (eds), *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain, Vol. 1* (Epworth Press 1965), p.3.

Cf. Wesley's family in Maldwyn Edwards, *Family Circle – A study of the Epworth Household in Relation to John and Charles Wesley* (London: The Epworth Press, 1949).

⁵⁴ Cf. the 'Everyman's Library' edition of the *Journal*, Index, IV, pp. 550-555. Wesley read such works as those of Homer, Virgil, Plato, Horace, Plutarch, Epictetus, Xenophon, Lucian, Cicero, Juvenal, Anacreon and Demosthenes. Although he did not refer to many other writers living before 1600, with the exception of Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and Spenser, he used many references to Jeremy Taylor, Clarendon, Donne, Herbert, Cowley, Waller, Congreve, and Dryden and Milton from the seventeenth century. (T. B. Shepherd, *Methodism and the Literature of the Eighteenth Century*, London: Epworth Press, 1940. p. 121.)

In 1700, the largest city was London, had a population of around half a million. The next largest cities were Norwich (around 30,000) and Bristol (20-22,000). By 1750, Bristol perhaps certainly doubled to a population of around 50,000 as a result of its wealth and industry. Behind Bristol there were York and Exeter. Newcastle with Gateshead had a population of 29,000 and Birmingham 24,000. By 1800 Liverpool and Manchester became the key provincial cities, followed by Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds and Sheffield – nearing the current pattern.⁵⁵

Regarding the population, statistics are approximate, but one estimate by Wrigley and Schofield reports: the population of England as 5.1million in 1701, 5.8 million in 1751. And the first national census in 1801 reported there was 8.7 million.⁵⁶ To be a town required a minimum population of 5,000. It is estimated that only 15% of the population lived in towns by 1750, and though it rose to 25% by 1800 it reached to just over 50% in towns of 10,000 or more in 1851. A report by Corfield suggests that in 1700 there were 18.65% townsmen; in 1750, 22.6%; and in 1801, 30.6%.⁵⁷

1.2 Politics

In 1688, there was a remarkable 'Glorious revolution'. It was not only political but also a powerful religious event. When James II was deposed he was replaced by William and Mary. The revolution stimulated the vision for the future transition to parliamentary government. By 1700, there was a constitutional monarchy and a Parliament. In parliament there were two parties: Whigs and Tories. Those parties represented powerful families and land owners, and the distinctions between them were often quite blurred. Although there was a voting system for parliament, only a small population could vote. Most public offices were controlled

⁵⁵ P.J. Corfield, *The Impact of England Towns* (Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 15.

⁵⁶ E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield (editors), *The Population History of England 1541-1871* (Edward Arnold, 1981), pp. 207-10.

⁵⁷ Corfield, 1982, p. 7.

by royal and aristocratic patronage. Many constituencies were in the gift of their patrons. Wealthy landowners were usually able to control the electors - their tenants, by and large.⁵⁸ This was an accepted feature in the century. J.H. Plumbs notes that 'in any case, the age did not believe in democracy; the world of authority belonged to the owners of property and not to the dispossessed'.⁵⁹

Party rivalries were intense between the 1720s and 30s. The period saw the beginning of a cabinet system, and radical political groups grew slowly as the century wore on. The prime minister held significant power. For much of this period, however, the country was virtually run by about seventy great families until the end of the century 'in reality there was no big political issue to produce an effective basis for genuine party-conflict'.⁶⁰ Globally, Britain was a colonial power with supremacy at sea and was involved in a succession of wars particularly France and Spain. Despite a loss of American colonies in 1783, Britain confirmed its power of world-wide colonial domination in Europe, in Africa and in Asia. Wesley was a Tory and his followers retained this political position into the nineteen century.⁶¹

1.3. Economy

This period witnessed the industrial revolution which transformed social and economic life. Early in the century most people earned their living from the land, spending all their days working on it. Agricultural industries gradually varied like woollen, weaving, carpentry, and so on, adding employing some technical improvements.⁶²

In 1700, England's wealth was built on woollen cloth, which was made in practically every

⁵⁸ Because the voting system was open until the secret ballot was introduced in 1872.

⁵⁹ John Harold Plumb, *England in the Eighteenth Century* (Pelican Books-Penguin, 1950), p.40.

⁶⁰ Burterfield, 1965, p. 19.

⁶¹ Henry D Rack, *A Reasonable Enthusiast, second edition* (London: Epworth Press, 1992), p.370.

⁶² Jethro Tull (1674-1741) described in his book, *The New Horse Hoeing Husbandry* (1733), that there were two farming progress – the drill for sowing seeds and the horse-hoe for keeping the ground clear of weeds. Cf. C P Hill, *British Economic and Social History 1700-1982* (London; Edward Arnold, 1985), p. 15.

village. The 'Agrarian Revolution', as it has been termed, saw new techniques of crop-rotation, breeding, cultivation methods and farm management being introduced to cope with Britain's rising population and the expansion of her overseas markets. Defoe gives as good a picture as any of the bustling, 'improving' character of many parts of England.⁶³ Daniel Defoe's book, *Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724-27) gives as clear a view as any of the bustling, 'changing' societies of many parts of England. What Defoe was interested in was industrial tradesmen and manufacture as well as gifted writers. By 1750, manufacturing industries were progressing across the nation. Norwich was still one of the central textile industry areas. Bristol was the outlet for the south-western textile industry and the focus of West Indian sugar and port of slaves of import and export. Newcastle for coal; Manchester for the cottons; Birmingham for metal industry. Its impact, however, should not be exaggerated. For during much of the eighteenth century, travel between Manchester and Leeds was impossible in winter, and many areas remained almost completely isolated.

Remarkable things were invented, for instance, one year before Wesley's birth, the first daily newspaper was first published in London as a result of the technology of typography. In addition, becoming an industrial society led to the creation of various forms of power-driven machinery and the coming of the modern form of factory. This stimulated the dynamic coal and iron industries and superseded the domestic system in the production of textiles, and a series of inventions making promoted strides in the manufacture of iron, steel, and pottery. James Watt (1736-1819) invented his first patent for steam-engine in 1769. It indicated 'Industrial Revolution'. A series of rapid improvements in communications involving canals and roads constituted another important advance. The wealth of England led to the establishment of the Bank of England in 1764-5.

1.4. The realm of Reason

⁶³ Daniel Dafoe, *Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*(1724-6)

People in the UK felt that they were living in more 'developed' times than other countries or generations. In 1687 the publication of Isaac Newton's *Principia* represented the birth of modern science. It became a crucial influence of the 'Age of Reason'⁶⁴ with the turn of century. On the other hand, there were remarkable philosophical writings of John Locke (1632-1704) on the study of human understanding. Such work was developed with different implications by scholars such as David Hume (1711-1776), another outstanding philosopher, who laid the foundations of modern humanism. Thinkers began to apply scientific methods to process the human thought. The thinkers were opening up a debate in which they would make a devastating attack on those who claimed that religion could be based on a combination of reason and revelation. The century itself came to be known as the "age of Reason".

2. Religious background

2.1. Anglican

Since the violent scandals of the English Reformation of the sixteenth century, the Church of England showed how the church could reform in Britain in both theological and political terms. After the Election of 1695, the mood of political tension between Whigs and Tory made the formation of a 'new Tory party' which attacked King William's ministers so remorselessly. Then the Convocation controversy (in 1697) formed so much political division. It revealed the disorder in political life as well as in the Church of England as the contest between High and Low Church.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Toland argued that the superiority of Christianity is precisely that it makes plain and comprehensible what is mysterious in other religions, and it called for a return to the simplicity of primitive Christianity as against the mysteries and quackeries with which priests and later loaded it (in which he seems tacitly to have included the doctrine of Trinity). Cf. John Toland, 'Christianity Not Mysterious' (London, 1696)

⁶⁵ Cf. G.V. Bennett, 'Conflict in the Church' (155-175) in *Britain After The Glorious Revolution 1689-1714*, Edited by Geoffrey Homes (London: The Macmillan Press LTD, 1978).

The 'Glorious revolution' led to greater religious freedom and the acceptance of other churches was a great foundation for the next generation. By the time of John Wesley, religious persecution became less widespread. However, divisions between churches continued to run deep. The relationship between the Anglicans and Dissenters including Roman Catholics was marked by serious tension. They shared mutual feelings of distrust, fear and often sheer hatred.

However, the Anglican was the dominant church throughout the century. Almost 90 percent of the population was Anglican.⁶⁶ In society the Anglican Church was dominant in legal rights, social positions, influence, and as a recognised part of political rates alone with Royal family, Lords, and Commons. To become a member of the clergy meant getting a better education. The universities were Anglican and mostly staffed by clergy. Parliament was closed to Catholics and concerned few Dissenters. All the bishops were in the House of Lords. The living conditions of the clergy were very varied. In 1762 the Archbishop of Canterbury had £7000 per annum, a canonry of St Paul's and a London living to a total of £1550. The bishop of Bristol received £450⁶⁷. Queen Anne's Bounty (1704) helped some poor Anglican clergy.⁶⁸ Although there was not a system that the bishops had a power to force wages of curates in parishes in 1714 there were some bishops who tried to force curates to live on £ 20-50 per annum.⁶⁹

Regarding the fervour of clergy's ministry, the reputation was negative.⁷⁰ Anglican clergy went about their duties quietly and conscientiously, but showed little enthusiasm or conviction. Judging the Anglican's faithfulness and efficiency is not easy, for it was so diverse in character; examples of excessive wealth, corruption, ignorance or neglect can be set

⁶⁶ Rack, 1992, p.10.

⁶⁷ J. Fortescue (ed.), *Correspondence of George III* (Macmillan 1927), I, pp. 33-44.

⁶⁸ Cf., J. A Savidge, *Queen Anne's Bounty* (SPCK, 1955)

⁶⁹ G. Holmes, *Augustan England* (Allen and Unwin 1982), Chapter IV. On the Clerical professional)

⁷⁰ Rack, 1992, p.11.

alongside just as many others which give the opposite impression. There is a general sense of the Anglican Church to have lost its 'nerve', and being ill- equipped to respond to the developments. Baker pointed out that 'it was true that Anglican discipline was very lax, that Convocation no longer met, and that the bishops were unlikely to move unless pushed. All this, indeed, was part of the malady which the Methodists were seeking to remedy'.⁷¹ This relaxed religious background created the context within which it was possible for Methodism to be born.

2.2. The Dissenters

The 'Toleration Act' allowed greater freedom for dissenters (Roman Catholics, too). There was a collection of denominations, probably numbering about a third of a million in the early part of the eighteenth century, who wished to remain separate from the Church of England. Most had their origins in seventeenth-century Puritanism⁷²: including Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, Independents (or Congregationalists), and Nonjuror. The right to worship in their own buildings according to their own beliefs provided that fairly stringent legal and doctrinal conditions were met. Nonconformity did not grow in the first half of the eighteenth century it dropped instead. Thus it was clear that gradual progress towards complete freedom of religious expression had been made around the mid-eighteenth century.

In practice, the various laws regarding religious practice outside the Anglicans were inefficiently administered and infrequently enforced. This placed the Dissenters in a strange and difficult position. They could worship in their own communities, yet could only be baptized, married or buried in Anglican churches. In many ways the fact that this limited toleration took the form of legal statutes made it objectionable, irrespective of how efficiently it was enforced. In spite of these and other constant sources of irritation to Dissenters, the

⁷¹ Frank Baker, *John Wesley and the Church of England* (London; Epworth Press, 1970), p. 58.

⁷² John Wesley Bready, *England: Before and After Wesley* (London: Hodder and Stoughton Limited, 1939), pp.20-24.

presence and steady growth of English nonconformity, which constituted a bridge between the old and new ways of thinking, might have made religious extremism less likely as the century wore on.⁷³

Meanwhile, the 'Glorious revolution' seemed to have created an atmosphere of denominational competition, separation, distrust or neglect between churches throughout the 18th century. It involved many distinguished Christian leaders. For instance, Phillip Doddridge was a type of attractive leader. He was eager for some kind of reunion with the Church of England, though he was "thoroughly persuaded of the reasonableness of nonconformity", and was not prepared to sacrifice any point of principle. He also wrote some admirable hymns. Among them was "my God, and is Thy Table spread?"⁷⁴ Isaac Watts (1674-1748), though he was suspected by some of a tendency to Arianism, became famous for his hymns across Britain. He had close contacts with some of the bishops. Within this hymnal mood the Wesley brothers could enjoy singing during services. The usage of hymns (as opposed to psalms alone) and the style in which the hymns were written made them excellent formational tools. The normal Anglican Churches of Wesley's days were singing ponderous psalms, either using the old version of Sternhold and Hopkins or the new version of Tate and Brady. There existed great suspicion that hymns were non-scriptural because the words were not strictly taken from the Bible. The only hymns allowed were well-vetted anthems sung by able choirs in cathedrals and churches. The Calvinists in Geneva allowed only metrical paraphrases of Scripture because they held music and arts as suspect.⁷⁵ Dissenters, however, preferred hymns because they felt not all the psalms were suitable for

⁷³ E.N Williams(ed), *The Eighteenth Century Constitution, Documents and Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), pp.334-336.

⁷⁴ Cf. S.C. Carpenter, *Eighteenth Century Church and People*(London; John Murry,1959), pp.91-114. Some other leading characterizers in nonconformists were Hugh Farmer and James Fordyce (the Preaching of Fordyce won the admiration of Garrick), the well-known Samuel Chandler, George Benson, Author of Commentaries with a paraphrase of the New Testament Epistles, and James Foster. The three latter were somewhat unorthodox, Chandler and Benson inclining to Arianism, and Foster to Deism. Foster went so far as to say, "where mystery begins, religion ends." More orthodox were Henry Grove, Tutor at the Taunton Academy, and John Leland, a Dublin Minister, who wrote a careful and on the whole fair-minded book on the Deistical Writers as well as a layman, Daniel Defoe.

⁷⁵ AM Hodges HA & Allchi, *A Rapture of Praise* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1966), p. 44.

worship.⁷⁶ Lutherans, too, enjoyed freely composed chants,⁷⁷ combining objective doctrinal hymnody with verses of affective and devotional nature.⁷⁸ Therefore, the aggressive atmosphere between 18th century churches needed a special leader whose concern was to guide churches in a direction in peace.

3. Eucharistic surroundings and influence to Wesley

Since Luther, Reformers stated their own theological views and different practical theology of Eucharist across Europe. In Britain, too, the church had to identify their own new theological works and practices after separation from the Roman Catholic Church. Although there was a kind of competition between the Catholic Church and protestant churches, If there were those who tried to revive frequent celebration of the Eucharist in practice in the protestants, they were suspected of “popish” intentions.⁷⁹

The questions: ‘Who, how and where celebrated the Lord’s Supper in the 18th century?’ linked with how people prepare for the Eucharist.

By the early 18th century, commonly there were well-known theological views. The major existing theological views were of Catholic (Transubstantiation instituted at the Lateran council, 1215), Martin Luther (1483-1546, Consubstantiation), Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531, Memorialism), and John Calvin (1509-1564, the real spiritual presence of God) who did not want frequent Eucharist.

Practically Puritan ideas influenced Wesley’s Eucharistic Theology. Before inviting the

⁷⁶ John RH Moorman, *The Anglican Spiritual Tradition* (London: DLt, 1983), pp.144-145.

⁷⁷ Ewert H Cousins, ‘Christian Spirituality: Post Reformation and Modern’, in *Christian Spirituality*, edited by Louis Dupre & Don Saliers (London: SCM Press,1990), volume III, p. xx.

⁷⁸ HA&Allchi, 1966, p. 44.

⁷⁹ Bromer, 1951, p.3.

congregation to the Table the Puritans would first conduct an examination of their communicants.⁸⁰ In the Anglican, any baptised person could receive.⁸¹ One of the reasons why there were not many Eucharistic celebrations was the shortage of ordained leaders rather than the issue of baptism. But difficulty travelling, the size of dioceses, market days, farming conditions and lack of good artificial light for churches meant that not very many people received confirmation at the hands of a bishop in those days.⁸² Hence, while being confirmed was 'highly expedient' it was not the main criterion for reception of the sacrament.⁸³ Daniel Waterland listed what receivers needs like competent knowledge, sound faith, true repentance consisting in restitution, readiness to forgive, peaceableness and charity for the poor.⁸⁴

There was a remarkable group which cannot be ignored in an exploration of Wesley's Eucharistic theology: Nonjuror. The Nonjuror apparently began by 1688. But it can be said that this group was influenced by Anglican theologians in the Elizabethan period (1558-1603). Two Anglican theologians stood out above all others; John Jewel (24 May 1522 - 23 Sep 1571) and Richard Hooker (Mar 1554 - 3 Nov 1600). Jewel defended the Anglicans against the Roman Catholics, and Hooker defended the Anglican against the Puritans. Their vision was of that Anglicanism was both 'reformed' and 'Catholic'; a church purged of may abuses in thought and practice, but yet keeping firmly within the context of its age-long tradition which reached back to "primitive" times. Their work was supported by Archbishop Laud, who was a close adviser of Charles I during his despotic government (1629-1640). Laud was a bitter opponent of Calvinism and Puritanism, but he was no Catholic. He

⁸⁰ Kenneth Stevenson, *Covenant of Grace Renewed* (London: DLT, 1994), p. 167.

⁸¹ Daniel Waterland, *A Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist as Laid Down in Scripture and Antiquity* (Cambridge: Printed for Corn, Crownfield and W Innys, 1737), pp. 536-537. Waterland (1683-1740) was engaged in the theological controversies of his time like those on the divinity of Christ, the Trinity, deism and the Eucharist. More about him, in *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd edition, edited, Frank L Cross (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 462-3.

⁸² Sykes, 1962, p.145.

⁸³ Waterland, 1737, p.538.

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp.536-558.

demanded obedience to the bishops and to the Prayer book. He was aided by a company of brilliant Cambridge scholars, the “Caroline Divines”, who included amongst their number, Launcelot Andrews, Richard Montague, Jeremy Taylor, George Herbert and Nicholas Ferrar. With the beheading of Charles on January 30th, 1649, there came a temporary end to the monarchy, the Church of England and the work of these scholars.

However, the “Carolines” conception of church lived on in small group of Laudian clergy who, in secret, determined to prepare for a “come-back” of Anglican theology. At the Restoration in 1660 the king, Charles II, supported the “Laudians” and the proceeded to establish their doctrinal position. Once again however, they came under suspicion, through a Protestant reaction to the Catholic king of the next reign. The king, James II, was deposed and, in the accession of William and Mary, many bishops and clergy who had supported him were evicted from their livings. Many of them declined to take the oath to William and Mary and formed themselves into a schismatic group known as the “Nonjuror” in 1688.⁸⁵ So the Nonjuror by their beliefs was confident that they regarded the Church of England as in schism from themselves. They eked out their existence until well into the eighteenth century, continuing to write books concerning the “Catholicity” of the Church of England, and emphasizing its innate authority through its unbroken link with the primitive church. They regarded the ‘Edwardian Prayer Books’ as the true expression of that “Catholicity” and urged adherence to its rubrics. They influenced many devout Anglicans, especially through their Works on church history.⁸⁶ Samuel Wesley, John’s father, was a strong advocate of Nonjuror. The early 18th century their influence was still alive as High-Church men. The Nonjuror produced several well-known ‘preparation manuals’: Thomas Ken (1637-1711) with his *A Manual of Prayers for the Use of Scholars of Winchester College* (1679) which feature meditations on the Eucharist and prayers for different parts of the service and John Johnson

⁸⁵ Numbers were about four hundred clergy and six bishops, including William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury; Thomas Ken, bishop of Bath and Wells; and Thomas White, Bishop of Peterborough.

⁸⁶ Trevor Dearing, *Wesley and Tractarian Worship* (Epworth Press SPCK, 1966), p. 4.

with his *The Unbloody Sacrifice*(1714).⁸⁷

There is certainly no doubt that Wesley was influenced by his father who had strong “Nonjuror” sympathies.⁸⁸ When Wesley led the Holy Club in Oxford he was definitely much impressed by Non-juror’ teaching and had a relationship with a Caroline Divine, Jeremy Taylor, and Non-juror sympathiser, William Law who first awakened his pursuit of holiness.⁸⁹ A member of the Holy Club, John Clayton, further introduced Non-Jurist thought to Wesley, especially that of the leader of the Manchester Nonjuror, Thomas Deacon. Deacon exercised; the giving of alms and strict self-examinations as the required preparation for communion.⁹⁰ For him communion was first a response to the work of Christ rather than ‘our work’ for him.⁹¹ Throughout the Oxford period and also whilst in Georgia, Wesley strictly followed the rubrics of the Edwardian prayer Books.⁹² And an interesting thing to note is the number of Nonjuror and “Caroline” works which Wesley read during the formative period of his life.

There were a few voices which were raised in deep concern about possible negative effects of these endeavours. John Tillotson (1630-1697) was against the over-emphasis on worthy reception of Eucharist and the production of preparation manuals. He feared that these

⁸⁷ Bowmer noted that John Wesley brought 500 copies of Johnson’s book to America and probably imposed some teachings on his congregation in Georgia. Cf. John C Bowmer, *The Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper in Early Methodism* (Dacre Press: Adam& Charles Black, 1951), p.30.

⁸⁸ Dearing, 1966, p.4.

⁸⁹ For the continuing relationship of Wesley to Law, Cf. Herald Lindstrom, *Wesley and Sanctification: A study in the doctrine of Salvation*(London: Epworth Press,1950),p.55 ff; Brazier Green, *John Wesley and William Law*(London: Epworth Press,1945); E.W. Barker, *A herald of the evangelical revival: A critical inquiry into the relation of William Law to John Wesley and the beginnings of Methodism* (London: New World Library, 1948).Also Article in the “church quarterly Review” Jan-Mar 1962, Vol. CLXIII No. 346 p.61ff.

⁹⁰ Thomas Deacon, *Full, True and Comprehensive view of Christianity* (London: Printed for S Newton, 1716), pp.301-3.

⁹¹ Thomas Deacon, *Compleat Collection of Devotions: Publik and private* (1734), pp.301-303.

⁹² Journal, 5/5/1736, For instance, Wesley refused to baptize the Parker child because Mr. and Mrs. Parker would neither consent to have it dipped nor certify the child was too weak to have water poured on it. This rigid requirement Wesley adopted from the first Edwardian Prayer Book of 1548. It was not the rubric of the Prayer Book of 1662 under which the Anglican of the eighteenth century was governed. Wesley might feel in this instance the earlier prayer book was nearer to New Testament practice than the later. It seems that Wesley was strict with self-righteous conviction.

might discourage the sinner from coming to the Eucharistic Table.⁹³ Waterland shared his concern as well.⁹⁴ A Non-Juror, Robert Nelson voiced the same concern in his *A Companion to Festivals and Fasts* (1704). He advised that great care must be taken, when a man is habitually prepared, that

‘he does not impose on himself so much actual preparation as shall make him lose an opportunity of receiving the sacrament, when he has not had time to go through with that method he has prescribed to himself’.⁹⁵

Despite some negative views, writings on proper preparation and worthy reception of the Eucharist were popular in the culture of John Wesley. This genre included Brian Dupp’s *Holy Rules and Helps to Devotion both in Prayer and Practice*, the anonymous *A week’s Preparation towards a worthy Receiving of the Lord’s Supper*, Bishop John Gauden’s *The Whole Duty of a Communicant: being rules and directions for a worthy receiving of the most holy sacrament of the Lord’s Supper*, Simon Patrick’s *Christian Sacrifice* (part IV). The father of the Wesley brothers as a fervent Caroline, Samuel Wesley Senior, wrote a manual entitled, *A Pious Communicant Rightly Prepared*.

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⁹³ Tillotson, John, *The works of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson* (London: Printed for James. John and Paul Knapton, <and others>, 1728-1735), 1728: vol, pp.229-230.

⁹⁴ Daniel Waterland, ‘The Christian Sacrifice Explained in a Charge Delivered in Part to the Middlesex Clergy at St Clement – Dames’, edited by Innys and R Manby F Wendel, 1738, p. 565 Cf. p. 105.

⁹⁵ Robert Nelson, *A Companion for the Fasts and Festivals of the Church of England with Collects and Prayers for Each Solemnity* (W Bowyer for Churchill, 1704), p. 464.

Chapter 3. Eucharistic Practices

1. Eucharistic observance

The Wesleyan observation of the Eucharist has been studied by many theologians such as Earnest Rattenbury⁹⁶ (1948), John Bowmer (1951) and Ole E Borgen (1986).⁹⁷ They all have tried to recover Wesley's Eucharistic observations as well as its intension in theology.

1.1. Childhood

Wesley underlined his high view of Holy Communion in his teaching and through his published writings. John Wesley himself told the Earl of Dartmouth in 1775: 'I am a High Churchman, the son of a high Churchman, bred up from my childhood in the highest notions of passive obedience and non-resistance'.⁹⁸ Wesley's father Samuel Wesley was enormously interested in the Eucharist and wrote a book entitled, *the Pious Communicant Rightly Prepared or a Discourse Concerning the Blessed Sacrament*. Samuel had communion one a month in his church.⁹⁹ For the benefit of a visitor, Samuel even offered to hold it weekly¹⁰⁰. After careful preparation by his mother, John Wesley was admitted to the Table at the age of eight.¹⁰¹

1.2. Oxford

⁹⁶ J Earnest Rattenbury, *The Eucharistic Hymns of John and Charles Wesley*, 1948 (American Edition by Timothy J Couch, OSL, Ohio: Order of St Luke Publications, 1990).

⁹⁷ Lately few writers according to spirituality of Wesley's Eucharist includes as Gordon S Wakefield (1966) and Robert G Tuttle (1989).

⁹⁸ *The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.*, Standard Edition, Ed. John Telford, 8 vols (London, 1931), VI, p. 156.

⁹⁹ Bowmer, 1951, p.9.

¹⁰⁰ Stevenson, 1994, p. 141.

¹⁰¹ Luke Tyerman, *The Life and Times of the Rev Samuel Wesley, MA* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co, 1866), pp.18-19.

At Christ Church, Oxford, Wesley was tutored by high churchmen: George Wigan, Henry Sherman and Jonathan Colley, the Precentor.¹⁰² They instilled into Wesley a deep respect for the traditions of the Church and the Eucharist. However, Wesley's attitude towards attending the Eucharist did not change in practice. He himself evaluated his faithful attitude during university in Oxford.

The Scripture, several other books of religion, especially comments on the New Testament. Yet I had not all this while so much as a notion of inward holiness: nay, went on habitually and, for the most part, very contentedly, in some or other known sin: in deed, with some intermission and short struggles, especially before and after the holy communion, which I was obliged to receive thrice a year.¹⁰³

Wesley looked back at his religious status which he did not concern inward religion rather than habitual customs. Later in his time in Oxford, about the age of twenty- two in 1725, Wesley began thinking about becoming a priest in the Church of England after being pressed by his father. His enthusiastic view of attending the Eucharist became more serious. It was helped by reading, in particular, Thomas A Kempis's *Chastain Pattern*. Wesley wrote 'I set apart an hour or two a day for religious retirement. I communicated every week'.¹⁰⁴ Other readings, by Jeremy Taylor and William Law, reinforced the importance of the Eucharist for him. Wesley was not content with the mere discipline of regular communication. In his letter to his mother he wrote, '... what shall I do, to make all these

¹⁰² Baker, 1970, p.13f.

¹⁰³ Journal 24/5/1738. *The Journal of John Wesley* edited by Nehemiah Curnock (London: The Epworth Press, 1938). Volume 1 : 14 /Oct/1735 – 13/June/1738, Vol 2 : 14/June/1738-9/April/1742; Vol 3: 16/April/1742-30/Oct/1751; Vol 4 :2/Nov/1742-31?Dec/1762; Vol5: 1/Jan/1763-12/Sept/1773; Vol 6: 13/Sept/1773-17/July/1784; Vol7 : 18/July/1784-18/Aug/1789; Vol 8: 18/Aug/1789- 24/Oct/1790.

¹⁰⁴ Cf., more his note ' ... my father pressed me to enter into holy orders. At the same time, the providence of God directing me to Kempis's Christian Pattern, I began to see, that true religion was seated in the heart, and that God's law extended to all our thoughts as well as words and actions. I was, however, very angry, for being too strict ... Yet I had frequently much sensible comfort in reading him, such as I was an utter stranger to before: and meeting likewise with a religious friend, which I never had till now, I began to alter the whole form of conversation, and to set in earnest upon a new life.' Journal 24/5/1738.

blessings (referring to spiritual disciplines he was able to exercise) effectual, to gain from them that mind which was in Christ Jesus?'¹⁰⁵ Wesley's focus on inward and outward holiness was formulated during this time and was stimulated by his reading and Eucharistic observation.

By this time Wesley recognised the significance of religious intention.¹⁰⁶ So every Saturday night Wesley reserved for self-examination before the celebration of communion on Sunday.¹⁰⁷

Later, after Wesley was ordained in 1727, his brother, Charles, was studying at Oxford. Charles Wesley practised weekly communion and studied systematically with a few students. The meeting was named the 'Holy Club' which Charles and two or three young students committed themselves to weekly communion and a regimen of disciplined study.¹⁰⁸ On 22 November 1729 Wesley returned to Lincoln College to fulfil his obligations as Fellow of the University from Epworth where he was engaged as a curate at his father's church, with

¹⁰⁵ JWL to Susan Wesley (28/2/1732).

¹⁰⁶ Journal 26/03/1725. Wesley added his 'General Rules as to Intention':

- 1) In every action reflect on the end.
- 2) Begin every action in the name of the Father, the Son and the holy Spirit
- 3) Begin every important work with prayer.
- 4) Do not leave off a duty because you are tempted in it

¹⁰⁷ Wesley examined himself in Journal:

Enquire : Have I loved women or company more than God?
Resolve : Never to let sleep or company hinder me from going to prayers
Enquire : Have I taken God's name in vain?
Resolve : Never to mention it but in religious
Enquire : Irreverent behaviour at Church?
Resolve : Never to laugh or talk idly there
Enquire : Indevotion?
Resolve : Prayer and humility
Enquire : Pride?
Resolve : Consider death, the Scripture
Enquire : Idleness?
Resolve : Six hours every day
Enquire : Intemperate sleep?
Resolve : At five
Enquire : Unclean thought?
Resolve : God's omnipresence.
Jan. 29. 1726.

Lying

Sept. 20. Resolved to reflect twice a day

Oct. 24. Once a day to read over the last week's resolutions.

Dec. 1. To fast once a month.

Reviewed on Jan, 31, 1736

In John Telford, *The Life of John Wesley*, pp. xxv - xxvi.

¹⁰⁸ Bowmer, 1951, p.17.

special oversight of the Church at Wroote. Wesley was soon called in to help them in certain spiritual disciplines like self-examination and keeping of spiritual journals.¹⁰⁹

In 1733, Wesley brothers published *A Collection of Forms for Prayer every Day of the Week*. Wesley recognised the Eucharistic life in the prayer for Wednesday evening. This was an adaptation of the prayer for confession found in the Eucharistic service of the *Book of Common Prayer*. Surely this unexpected mid-week reminder of the Eucharist stimulated associated thoughts and reflections on the sacrament and its implications for an individual's life. Then on a Friday Wesley could tell that 'I received much spiritual strength and comfort in the sacrament'.¹¹⁰

Wesley met a remarkable moment as John Clayton joined in their practices. Clayton introduced to the Manchester non-juror brand of theology and churchmanship, as well as high views of the sacraments and the patristic roots of the church.¹¹¹ Friends with Clayton, with non-juror leader Thomas Deacon,¹¹² Justin Martyr's *Apology* and William Cave's *Primitive Christianity* influenced Wesley to believe that the early church had communion daily. This practice of frequent communion confirmed Wesley's view of its apostolic origins. Accepting Vincent of Lerins' understanding that Christian doctrines and practices are to be judged by that which has been accepted 'everywhere, always and by all',¹¹³ Wesley expected the practice to be binding on all contemporary churches and any believers. Wesley

¹⁰⁹ Richard P Heitzenrater, *Mirror and Memory* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1989), pp. 65-72. Encouraged by John's influence, the young men began to rise early in the morning for their devotions, and they spent certain appointed evenings every week in joint reading especially in the Greek New Testament.

¹¹⁰ CWJ 18/12/1744.

¹¹¹ The Manchester Nonjuror were different from the majority of Nonjuror called 'usagers' by people, they were referred by Wesley as the 'essentialist Nonjuror'. Most Nonjuror would use the *BCP*. They omitted the king's name. The Eucharist was the central act Christian worship and they held to a rather strong position on sacrifice.

¹¹² Wesley was familiar with Deacon's book: there were several records of him reading it, especially during the first part of his voyage to America (*Journal and Diary*, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, October; and 8/11/ 1735).

¹¹³ Ted A Campbell, *John Wesley and Christian Antiquity* (Nashville: Kingswood, 1991), p. 30.

ministered to the prisoners and gave them communion before their execution.¹¹⁴

The Holy Club tried to follow on the Eucharistic teachings. Law, for instance, sought humility in the morning, universal love at mid-day, conformity to the will of God in the afternoon. He would then confess his sins in the evening.¹¹⁵ And Deacon highlighted the replacing of sinful habits by conscious acts of grace which supplanted contrary virtues.¹¹⁶ The Holy Club in Oxford practiced these. It is interesting that when the Club carried out their 'particular examination' of themselves every day they held before themselves a list of questions based on a traditional list of Christian virtues for every day.¹¹⁷ Their orderly life with simple routine of week and sacramental observance gave rise to their names: 'Methodist', 'Sacramentarians', 'the Superogation men', 'Bible bigots', 'the Holy Club', 'Enthusiasts', 'the Godly Company, and 'Bible moths'.¹¹⁸

1.3. In America

In 1735, the Wesley brothers went as missionaries to America determined to place a lot of weight on Eucharist observance. They actively sought to make communion available to their people. On board the *Simmonds*, sailing towards America, the four Oxford Methodist Clergymen – John Wesley, Charles Wesley, Benjamin Ingham and Charles Delamotte -

¹¹⁴ Whenever you are to do an action consider how God did or would do the like, and do you imitate His example: "*General Rules in All Actions of Time*"

1. Begin and end every day with God; and sleep not immoderately.
2. Be diligent in your calling.
3. Employ all spare hours in religious; as able.
4. All holidays [holy-days].
5. Avoid drunkards and busybodies.
6. Avoid curiously, and all useless employments and knowledges
7. Examine yourself every night.
8. Never on any account pass a day without setting aside at least an hour for devotion.
9. Avoid all manner of passion.

John Telford, B.A., *The Life of John Wesley* (London: The Epworth Press, 1929), pp. xxiv – xxv.

¹¹⁵ William Law, *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, edited by JC Reid, (London: William Collins and Sons Co. Ltd, 1965), p. 12.

¹¹⁶ Deacon, 1716, p.395.

¹¹⁷ M Douglas Meek, *The Portion of the Poor: Good News to the Poor in the Wesleyan Tradition* (Nashville: Kingswood, 1995), pp.56-57.

¹¹⁸ Sermon 107, 'On God's Vineyard'.

celebrated communion with the their fellow travellers.¹¹⁹

In America, Wesley himself sought to practice some of Deacon's ideas, which resulted in a host of complaints from his more down-to-earth parishioners. But he retained this conviction according to Deacon's writings in the Apostolic Canons and constitutions until he found out that they were not as ancient as he thought they were. Wesley commented how he viewed the Eucharist:

I believe myself it a duty to observe, as far as I can without breaking communion with my own church: 1. to baptize by immersion 2. to use Water, oblation of elements (and) alms, invocation and Prosthesis in the eucharist 3. to pray for the faithful departed 4. to pray standing on Sunday and in Pentecost 5. to observe Saturday, Sunday and Pentecost as Festivals 6. to abstain from blood and things strangled. I think it prudent (our church not considered): 1. to observe the stations 2. Lent, especially the Holy Week 3. to turn to the east at the Creed.¹²⁰

The number of communicants varied usually between 10 and 20. This number was good, considering a report that in John's predecessor's day there were 'on some Sundays, not ten persons in church and three at communion'. The report continued that Wesley had forty every Sunday.¹²¹ Wesley could not continue missionary work due to a clash after refusing a couple (Sophy and Mr Williamson) from the communion service¹²² which led him to leave America in late 1737. It was a ministerial problem related to keeping observation of the Eucharist.

1.4. Eucharistic Relationships with Anglican bishops

¹¹⁹ Journal 17/10/1735, 18/12/1735, 21/12/1735.

¹²⁰ Requoted in Frank Baker's book, *John Wesley and the Church of England* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970), pp. 40-41.

¹²¹ Bowmer, 1951, p.32.

¹²² Journal 1, pp.337n, 347f.

On returning from America after failure of mission early in February 1738, Wesley met with Charles who had returned half a year earlier. The Wesley brothers met two very close Bishops: the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London who looked after and encouraged them while they founded Methodist societies. This time the two most important Bishops were the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. The next most important for their immediate concerns was the Bishop of Bristol, the third largest city in the century, and their second headquarters.¹²³

In February, 1739, the brothers visited Lambeth Palace to meet the Archbishop, and went straight to the Bishop of London in Whitehall.¹²⁴ Dr. John Potter, Archbishop of Canterbury¹²⁵ was the Bishop of Oxford from 1715 to 1737, Potter knew Wesley brothers in the affairs of the Holy Club that had regular Eucharist.¹²⁶ Also the bishop of London, Edmond Gibson, who held that key position throughout the same crucial decade, in fact from 1723 to 1748, was so

¹²³ Of the eight Archbishops of Canterbury enthroned during the seventeenth century seven had been translated from London (two from the deanery of St. Paul's) and one from Lincoln. Of the seven enthroned during the eighteenth century two were from York, two from Oxford, and the other three from Lincoln, Lichfield and Coventry, and Bangor.

But at the period the archbishopric of York was regarded as much more of sinecure, nor was there any tradition that York was steppingstone to Canterbury.

¹²⁴ CWJ I, pp. 143-4. Charles described in full quotation:

Wed. February 21.... With my brother I waited on the archbishop. He showed us great affection; spoke mildly of Mr. Whitefield cautioned us to give no more umbrage than was necessary for our own defence; to forbear exceptionable phrases; to keep to the doctrine of the Church. We told him we expected persecution; would abide by the Church till her Articles and Homilies were repealed. He assured us he knew of no design in the governors of the Church to innovate; and neither should there be any innovation while he lived; avowed justification by faith only; and his joy to see us as often as we pleased.

From him we went to the bishop of London; who denies his having condemned or even heard much of us. G. Whitefield's Journal, he said, was tainted with enthusiasm, though he was himself a pious, well-meaning youth. He warned us against antinomianism and dismissed us kindly.

In his earlier interview with Charles Wesley, the bishop said that he had detected a tendency towards antinomianism.

¹²⁵ Potter was remarkable both for the depth of his classical and ecclesiastical learning and the breadth of his sympathies.

¹²⁶ Cf. Daniel Benham, *Memories of James Hutton* (Nabu Press, 2011), pp. 24-27; Potter became archbishop on 28 February 1737. Potter was a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford in his youth when John Wesley was there. When Potter was the Bishop of Oxford he had ordained John Wesley both deacon (1725) and priest (1728), and Charles Wesley deacon (1735). In 1737 Potter succeeded William Wake as the Primate, and filled its office for ten years, which was of the most formative times of Methodism in Oxford. Cf. more relationship between Potter and Wesley at Oxford in V.H.H Green, *the Young Mr. Wesley* (London: Edward Arnold Publishers, 1961), pp. 143, 159, 161, 182.

familiar with Wesley brothers.¹²⁷ The good relationship with the Bishops not only encouraged their depression but also helped to resolve the struggles of the Wesley brothers in relation to church orders.

In fact, it seemed that Wesley brothers in the early period looked like troublemakers in the Anglican Church.¹²⁸ There were some episodes when the Wesleys needed advice and help. On 20 October 1738, both brothers met Gibson in order to answer complaints that had been made against the Wesleys in term of doctrine and discipline. The complaints developed because of their preaching 'salvation by faith' and their relationship with Moravians. Gibson found nothing objectionable in their teaching upon justification by faith alone.¹²⁹ In addition, when Wesley visited Methodists in Bristol there were arguments about preaching in other parishes in 1738. A former member of the Holy Club, James Hervey, reported the criticism of this invasion of other men's parishes. His rebuke was written a month after the Wesleys' interview with Potter and Gibson (25 August 1739), but it first saw partial publication three years later in Wesley's Journal. In his reply, Wesley introduced a favourite argument supported by quotations from St. Paul, and also a famous original phrase which became a

¹²⁷ After returning from Georgia in December 1736, Charles waited on the bishop several times, and in February 1738 informed Gibson of his brother's return. Charles in his Journal recorded about the bishop: 'spoke honourably of him, expressed a great desire to see him, asked many questions about Georgia and the Trustees, forgot his usual reserve, and dismissed me very kindly.' (CWJ I, p.81).

¹²⁸ It is easy to understand that how serious the situation became in a letter. The oldest brother, Samuel was worried about the deeds of John and Charles like 'flowing to schism'. Samuel clearly summarised the view of situation which he had gathered from the reports of his friends, the Rev. and Mrs. John Hutton of Westminster then sent a letter to Susana in October 1739:

They design separation... They are already forbid all the pulpits in London, and to preach in that diocese is actual schism. In all likelihood it will come to the same all over England if the bishops have courage enough. They leave off the Liturgy in the fields... Their societies are sufficient to dissolve all other societies but their own. ... As I told Jack (John's nick name)¹²⁸, I am not afraid the church should excommunicate him - discipline is at too low ebb – but that he should excommunicate the church. It is pretty near it.... Love-feasts are introduced, extemporary prayers and expositions of Scriptures, which last are enough to bring in all confusion. (Priestley, Joseph (ed), *Original Letters by the Rev. John Wesley and his friends, illustrative of his early history* (Birmingham: Pearson, 1791, pp.110-11.)

¹²⁹ CWJ I, p.133. Wesley brothers spent most of Friday morning 20 October 1738 with Gibson. In discussing another controverted Methodist emphasis, the possibility of a personal assurance of salvation. See more about meeting with Gibson, 31 May 1739 (CWJ I, p.151); 25 August 1739 (CWJ I, p, 163).

familiar watchword for his evangelistic irregularities:

God in Scripture commands me, according to my power to instruct the ignorance, reform the wicked, conform the virtuous. Man forbids me to do this in another's parish: that is, in effect, to do it at all, seeing I have now no parish of my own, nor probably ever shall. Whom then shall I hear, God or man? 'if it be just to obey man rather than God, judge you. A dispensation of the gospel is committed to me, and woe is me if I preach not the gospel.'¹³⁰

But where shall I preach it upon the principles you mention? Why, not in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America; not in any of the Christian parts, at least, of the habitable earth. For all these are after a sort divided into parishes....Suffer me now to tell you my principles in this matter. *I look upon all the world as my parish*; thus far I mean, that in whatever part of it I am I judge it meet, right, and my bounden duty to declare unto all that are willing to hear the glad tidings of salvation. This is the work which I know God has called me to, and sure I am that his blessing attends it.¹³¹

Another case to note was the issue of the re-baptism of adult dissenters. In November 1739, Charles Wesley visited Gibson to inform him of a woman who requested re-baptism.¹³² The Wesley brothers secured their authority for re-baptising adult dissenters on the understanding that first they notified the Bishop of London. The Archbishop, Potter, warned them to stress fundamental spirituality rather than the religious law/church orders in relation to re-baptism. This advice was never forgotten throughout their ministry. Many years later Wesley remembered in a sermon 'On attending the Church service' with this tribute to

¹³⁰ Cf. Cor 9:16, 17 and Acts 5:29.

¹³¹ Journal 2, pp. 217-18. Italics are introduced from Wesley's original edition of 1742, pp. 55-6; the actual letter was almost certainly written on 20 March 1739, though introduced into the *Journal* under date 11 June. Echoes and quotations from this important letter appear in John's letter to his brother Charles on 23 June 1739, and in November George Whitefield was able to apply it more literally, writing on board a vessel bound for America, 'the whole world is now my parish' (Cf. *The Works of the Reverend George Whitefield*, London, 6 vols, 1771-2, vol 1. P. 105)

¹³² CWJ I, pp. 135-6.

Potter.¹³³

During this period Wesley was involved with Moravian societies. Methodist societies were growing with the support of Potter and Gibson who trusted Wesley's evangelical intention and felt that the Wesleys might indeed 'leaven the whole lump' of the Church of England as High-Church clergy.¹³⁴

Wesley felt that it was important to remain in relationship with the Church of England in order to ensure that it embraced evangelical values. Wesley showed himself most anxious to secure the support or the acquiescence of the Anglican hierarchy. This was his duty as a churchman, and the work might otherwise have been hindered. Wesley decided that the authority of Bishops in the Church of England was less significant than God's power. It was thankfully and decisively allowed by Potter and Gibson who accepted Wesley's spiritual intention in struggles.¹³⁵ This relationship with the Bishops who supported Wesley's evangelical values provided the basis for the development of the Methodist Eucharistic movement in the Anglican Church.

1.5. Issue regarding by faith or by means of grace of Eucharist

Wesley's 'Aldersgate Conversion' on 24 May 1738 was an outstanding moment and stressed the central importance of justification by faith. Assurance and perfection happens in the

¹³³ Works VII.p.185.

Near fifty years ago a great and good man, Dr. Potter, then archbishop of Canterbury, gave me an advice for which I have ever since had occasion to bless God: 'if you desire to be extensively useful, do not spend your time and strength in contending for or against such things as are of a disputable nature, but in testifying against open notorious vice, and in promoting essential holiness.'

On its original publication in the *Arminian Magazine* for 1788 the sermon was dated 'Bristol, Oct. 7. 1787'.

¹³⁴ Letter of Charles Wesley to Benjamin La Trobe, 10 July, 1786 – not to James Hutton, as John Telford states in Wesley's *Letters VIII*,p, 267.

¹³⁵ Letters I, p.323. Wesley stated: 'God bears witness in an extraordinary manner that my thus exercising my ordinary call is well-pleasing in his sight.'

same instant. By faith it completes the conquering of sin.¹³⁶ With this experience Wesley maintained the view that baptism symbolized being 'born again'. His sermons became more evangelical, such as on the sermon 'Salvation by faith'.¹³⁷ Wesley also recognized how the faith can be maintained, and the reason why the means of grace are needed. Therefore, although he did not experience the 'Warm heart' in communion, Wesley communicated very frequently. His sermons stressed the importance of Eucharist as well as the stress of 'salvation by faith'.

In 1739, it is particularly relevant that Wesley preached on the sacrament several times. The sermons included: the *Means of Grace* (which was the key sermon), *stand ye in the way, ask for the old paths* (Journal 22/6/1739), *Believe* (Journal 23/6/1739), *why are ye subject to ordinances?* (Journal 24/6/1739), *cast not away your confidence which had great recompense of reward* (Journal 24/6/1739), *All scripture is given by inspiration of God* (Journal 25/6/1739) and *Who have believed, be careful to maintain good works* on Titus 3:8 (Journal 29/6/1739).

There were three direct reasons for Wesley's preaching about the Eucharist. First, Wesley sought to distinguish his view about the means of Grace from that of the Moravians. Second, Wesley felt it was important to demonstrate the role of the Eucharist. Third, Wesley wanted to retain a close relationship with the Anglican Church.

According to Bowmer, in 1740, Wesley communicated forty out of fifty-two Sundays and had fifty-eight weekday celebrations. In the last nine years of his life he received the sacrament every Sunday except possibly two weeks (when he was ill and barred for the Table).

¹³⁶ Rack, 1992, p. 396. Cf. Ernest Gordon Rupp, *The Holy Communion: A Symposium*, edited by Hough Martin (London: SCM Press: 1947), p. 442.

¹³⁷ Sermon 1, July 11 1738.

After conversion his sermon became more evangelical as well as stressing the Eucharist. He often preached the same sermons in different place and time. See the list of sermons between July 11 1738 and 1740's. Cf. the appendix 2.

Throughout his lifetime, John received on an average once every four to five days.¹³⁸ Wesley took celebrations on weekdays during visits or in his own home. When weekday communions were added to regular Sunday ones, he would have communicated some fifteen times in one month, an average of one every other day. Wesley noted that he had been privileged to receive communion every day during the special days of the church, e.g. the octave of Easter.¹³⁹

Wesley was concerned about the role of the Eucharist in local churches. Bowmer observed that Wesley had good friends among the Church of Scotland ministers and had opportunities to attend communion at Episcopalian Churches there, but there was no record of how or where or when he did so. Wesley abstained from communicating while he was in Scotland. This was a notable departure from his usual practice. Bowmer postulated that it could be that communion was infrequently celebrated there by both the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches or it could be that Wesley was aware of political implications for himself and his followers should he be a communicant there. Jacobitism and Episcopacy were so closely identified that communicating as an Englishman could easily be seen as treason to his country. Wesley could also have refrained from attending Presbyterian communions simply because he disliked their liturgy.¹⁴⁰

His outstanding concern about the means of grace within the sacraments is revealed in the *Hymns on the Lord's Supper* published by John and Charles Wesley in 1745 which was sold in all the Methodist preaching houses and went through nine editions during the lifetime of the Wesley's.¹⁴¹ The Wesleyan Eucharistic revival owed no little debt to the liturgical, spiritual and devotional value of this book. More will be said about this hymn book later. Although most of hymns in the book were written by Charles, the name of this book will be

¹³⁸ Steve Harper, *The Devotional Life in the Wesleyan Tradition* (Nashville: The Upper Room, 1998), p.36.

¹³⁹ Bowmer, 1951, pp. 50-55.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., pp.125-127.

¹⁴¹ ST Kimbrough, *Hymns for the Lord's Supper by John and Charles Wesley* (HLS1745), Charles Wesley Society; Bristol: Felix Farley, 1995) p. iii.

as Wesley in this study.

1.5.1 Charles Wesley's observation

Charles Wesley strongly influenced his brother John's Eucharistic theology and practice. Charles had a confirmed Eucharistic observation and viewed it as a divine experience. Charles also had an evangelical experience on 21 May 1738. This was not at the Eucharist. However, he saw that people experienced the divine at the Table and also Charles had experienced some divine events before. For instance, in 1735, a feverish and pregnant woman suffering a violent cough received the Eucharist. She was dying. Charles recorded that 'at the hour of receiving' she began to recover and was out of danger within a few days.¹⁴² Also Charles recorded a strange experience in 1737.

... in the prayer of consecration I saw, by the eye of faith, or rather, had glimpse of, Christ's broken mangled body, as taken down from the cross, Still I could not observe the prayer, but only repeat with tears, 'o love, love!' at the same time, I felt great peace and joy ; and assurance of feeling more, when it is best.¹⁴³

If Charles' *Journal* is to be the guide, one can say that in all the years recorded in the *Journal*, Charles had communion on an average of no less than twice a month. This includes the times when he celebrated or assisted at the sacrament. Bowmer counted over one hundred similar references in Charles' *Journal*.¹⁴⁴ It must be admitted that, although daily Eucharist was the Wesleyan ideal,¹⁴⁵ Charles clearly seemed to have communicated less frequently than John Wesley.

¹⁴² CWJ 21/2/1735

¹⁴³ CWJ 25/5/1737.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Bowmer, 1951, p.189. Charles Wesley's Observation on the Lord's Table along his Journal. And see more Charles Wesley's Observation on the Lord's Table in *The Journal of The Rev Charles Wesley MA*, edited by Thomas Jackson (London: John Mason, Volumes I, II, 1849).

¹⁴⁵ HLS 166, 124/2,

Charles knew the need of observation in any condition; spiritual depression or joy. It might give him a good memory of taking the Lord's Supper. When he was sick in February 1738, both he and his sister Kezzy, who was nursing him, received communion daily.¹⁴⁶

In the early 1738, during the year of spiritual crisis before 21 May, he had communion more than forty six times (not counting the daily celebrations he had sometime in February). Since separating from Moravians Charles even went to give communion to the Kingswood colliers, perhaps serving them the sacrament in the first Eucharistic service outside consecrated ground.¹⁴⁷ At his wedding (married to Sarah Gwynne, on April 8, 1749), he had a communion. He said of that occasion: 'I never had more of the divine presence at the Sacrament'.¹⁴⁸

Particularly, there were notes on the increased number of joyful communicants in 1754.¹⁴⁹ His last *Journal* entries of 1756, covering a period of barely two months, he recorded his reception of communion five times.¹⁵⁰ There would be some reasons why the number was decreasing. Although Charles's Eucharistic observance might appear small in comparison with Wesley, it is however still very remarkable in comparison with the practice of the churches of his time.

When Charles along with his brother, John, travelled long distance Charles kept an accurate and detailed record of certain disciplines like weekly communion. This was not inconceivable, since Charles certainly was of a more easy-going nature than his highly disciplined brother. Whatever the reason for Charles's Eucharistic observance record, he never flagged from preaching the necessity of observing the means of grace of communion. For no less than six instances in 1756, Charles urged frequent sacramental Table to his followers.¹⁵¹ Charles also noted with triumphant joy with an increase in communicants that year.¹⁵² It is hard to

¹⁴⁶ Bromer, 1951, p. 189.

¹⁴⁷ CWJ 29/6/1740.

¹⁴⁸ CWJ 8/4/1749.

¹⁴⁹ CWJ 4/8/1754, 11/8/1754.

¹⁵⁰ CWJ 26/9, 3/10, 17/10, 31/10, 1/11/1756.

¹⁵¹ CWJ 4/10, 10/10, 21/10, 25/10, 26/10, 29/10/1756.

¹⁵² CWJ 31/10.

imagine that Charles would be lagging in his communion observance himself while he preached strongly against the lack of observance to others.

1.6. Frequency of the Eucharist

As seen above, there was a trend of inertia about the reception of the sacrament in 18th century.¹⁵³ As a result Wesley felt the need to preach the sermon, *The Duty of constant communion* in 1732. It was when Wesley was in Oxford that Charles was influenced by his brother's frequent attendance at the Eucharist.¹⁵⁴ Wesley countered all the arguments against such regularity and frequency. Such arguments were deep-rooted. He felt it would breed contempt for the frequent celebration of the Eucharist.¹⁵⁵

To those who were happy to do so three times a year or less, Wesley replied that the sacrament was instituted by Christ as continual remembrance. As a command, it was to be obeyed constantly, not whenever we like, otherwise, other commandments could be obeyed three times a year! To those who argued that Anglicans were only required to receive the Eucharist three times a year Wesley pointed to a higher authority/the Lord himself than his church. Wesley believed that even if the *BCP* indicated that it should be celebrated 'at least three times a year', this number is a bare minimum, not maximum. Wesley argued that those who want less participation in communion do not understand the real purpose of this instituted means of grace. Wesley revised the sermon *On Constant Communion* (1788) in response to lower attendance at the Eucharist. Wesley stressed that true reverence is nurtured by obedience to His command to partake of the sacrament. Wesley in addition responded that God did not command us to observe the sacrament 'unless it abates your

¹⁵³ Cf. Bromer, 1951, p.3. Footnote1. Prebyterians : four times each year, but independents or puritans : weekly.

¹⁵⁴ Charles also strongly emphasised 'preaching up' of the sacrament and urging regular communion services in a sermon of his dated 1748, *On a Weekly Sacrament* (Bowmer, 1951, p, 227).

¹⁵⁵ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption* (New York: Xine Campbell, Dennis M: 1991), p.127.

reverence!' Wesley's scriptural argument against those who would refrain from regular communion because of 'awe' was convincing. Love, fear and faith in God for the Eucharist would be made clearer. Wesley assured as 'I thank God I have not yet seen cause to alter my sentiments in any point which is therein delivered'.¹⁵⁶

1.7. Rules relating to becoming a member of a Society

After the name 'Methodists' was coined at Oxford, the name was next applied in 1737 to a number of people affected by the preaching of George Whitefield who encouraged them to form themselves into a religious society and to Wesley as they began to their new method of preaching and practicing the gospel in Georgia, America.

In April 1739 after taking over the leadership of the societies left by George Whitefield in Kingswood and in Bristol Wesley built a meeting house - the New Room, in Horsefair, Bristol. Later in London a society separated from the Moravians and built a meeting room which became the Foundry society. These two societies formed the United Society of Methodists. Wesley was the leader of the United Society. Additional societies in due course were formed at Kingwood, Oxford, Newcastle, and other places, and all of them adopting the name Methodist. As the number of Societies increased, it became ever more essential to define their purpose and regulate their conduct. One of the main rules within Wesley's *Rules of the Band Societies*¹⁵⁷ required the members to be at church and 'at the Lord's Table every week'.¹⁵⁸ Those who did not comply were expelled. The foremost purpose of the Societies was personal, individualistic and spiritual in attending the Table.

But late in 1784 the purpose of the Societies was revealed in a more challenging situation

¹⁵⁶ Sermon 101 – 'On the duty of communion'.

¹⁵⁷ The rule was designed from by the later end of the year 1739. Cf. JWW- 'The Life of the Revd John Wesley' (VIII, 269-71)

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

when Wesley advised those who Wesley ordained for sacraments in America.¹⁵⁹ White commented that the *Sunday Service* which Wesley had revised for the American Methodists presumed that there would be weekly communions. But in the *Sunday Service* Wesley left out the long exhortations and warnings about the proper reception of the sacrament (*BCP* 1662). There was no need to give notice of an upcoming celebration of communion if the celebrations were weekly. And no need to warn people to prepare themselves if they were already prepared by frequent confessions and sharings in their small groups.¹⁶⁰ One significant breakthrough took place when Wesley required members to observe constant communion.

1.8. Testimonies

There was no general administration of the sacrament in many of the English provincial churches and chapels.¹⁶¹ It was difficult to find ordained priests to celebrate successful communion in most places except for few recordings such as St Anne's, Blackfriars¹⁶² and Haworth, London.¹⁶³ However, the witnesses of Wesley's journey of Eucharistic revival were evident in the major centres of the Methodist movement such as London, Bristol, and Manchester, Newcastle-upon-Tyne¹⁶⁴ Methodist leaders and members participated in popularizing communion in their local churches. There was also a report from as far away as Harbour-grace in Newfoundland that their monthly communion was 'more than all the other Missionaries in the land have'.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁹ JWL to Dr.Coke, Mr Asbury, and Our Brethren in North America (10/9/1784).

¹⁶⁰ James F White, *The Development of the 1972 United Methodist Eucharistic Rite- John Wesley's Prayer Book: the Sunday service of the Methodist Church in North America: Notes and Commentary* (Cleveland: Order Of St Luke Publications: 1991), p.21.

¹⁶¹ Bowmer, 1951, Appendix II, p.216. Cf. where the communion plates were used by Wesley in early Methodism (pp. 216-222).

¹⁶² An Anglican minister, William Romaine who was not a Methodist had a success with five hundred communicants on his first Good Friday and three hundred on Easter Day. Bowmer, 1951, p.3

¹⁶³ The incumbent, William Grimshaw told the Archbishop of York. In winter between three and four hundred, and in summer nearer twelve hundred communicants. Bowmer, 1951, p.3

¹⁶⁴ Bowmer, 1951, p.3; p.216.

¹⁶⁵ *Armenian Magazine (AM)*, 1785, p.491.

Albin reported that Wesley's preachers were in the practice of carrying packets filled with letters from individuals describing their religious experiences, including those stories about spiritual experiences during communion. On certain days called 'letter days' the preachers would read out these testimonies to their people, encouraging them with stories of God's faithfulness.¹⁶⁶ Wesley used these methods of testimonies to encourage Eucharistic fervor. Wesley thought that it helps counter arguments against constant communion, employ their small group structure and discipline (Bands, Societies), and foster Eucharistic concern and devotion. It is still worth questioning: were these enough to account for the Eucharistic revival? Was there another stronger reason for the Methodists' enthusiastic embracing of the Eucharist? If there was, what was it? Some answers will be through his theological works.

2. The process of the issue regarding the Eucharist

2.1 Separations from Fetter lane

Wesley interchanged the word "means" with the word "ordinances" on occasion¹⁶⁷ as an indicator that this participation was expected by God.

The term emerged by late 1730s and early 1740s during the Wesley's dispute in terms of 'true stillness' of Moravians.¹⁶⁸ A Moravian group of leaders led by Philip Molther forbade the Wesley brothers in favour of 'stillness'. The mystics of the 'quietist' tradition seemed to hold this position:

¹⁶⁶ Albin, Thomas R, 'An Empirical Study of Early Methodist Spirituality', in *Wesleyan Theology Today: A Bicentennial Theological Consultation*, Edited by Theodore Runyon, (Nashville: United Methodist Publishing House, 1985), p.277.

¹⁶⁷ John Wesley, *The Works of John Wesley*, 3rd ed (Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson Publishers, 1832, 1986), vol.5, 185.

¹⁶⁸ The Fetter Lane Society in where Wesley was a member was a struggle according to the direction of Molther who stressed Quietism as unique means of grace. See *Journal* (Tues. 11, 19, and 31. Dec 1739), p. 92.

1. To one who seeks after mystical experience - He must have love as is only end. He must choose such means as lead as most of love while remaining flexible towards these means... for they will be beneficial for a season. But lest he become tied to these means cease.
2. For the 'attainer' (perfect finder): pure love possesses all virtue in essence. Even good works are worked essentially, not accidentally, Sensible devotion in prayer is a hindrance to perfection; the attainer needs no public prayer since he prays without ceasing; scripture is not needed by one who converses face to face with God. Communion is not needed, neither is fasting. He renounces reason and understanding, preferring obscure or general knowledge over the particular.¹⁶⁹

The Moravians of England insisted that there are no degrees of faith and that one must have sure faith before one partakes of the sacraments and other means of grace. To present faith as "waiting on God in silence", to them, was considered worse than useless. Thus they resisted Wesley's strong insistence on keeping the sacraments.

In April 1740 in the Fetter Lane Society there had been a big confusion owing to Charles Wesley's preaching: "Whereas believers ... are not subject to ordinances; and unbelievers have nothing to do with them: they ought to be still: otherwise, they will be unbelievers all the days of their life".¹⁷⁰ These views represented a direct objection to Molther, the leader of Fatter Lane, who stressed Quietism.

It should be understood why Charles Wesley argued strongly against Quietism. Since then the society became cold, weary, heartless, and dead. Wesley tried to recover the atmosphere, but failed. The Wesley's became divided from the Moravians. In July 1740 the

¹⁶⁹ Rober G Tuttle, *The Influence of Roman Catholic Mystics on John Wesley* (PhD thesis; Bristol University, 1969).

¹⁷⁰ Journal 21/4/1740.

Fetter Lane society committee refused to allow Wesley to preach in Fetter lane. At last on 18th July Wesley had a consultation with his mother. On Sunday 20th July 1740 Wesley with Mr Seward went to the love-feast in Fetter Lane and proclaimed the need of the means of grace.¹⁷¹ As a result, the Foundery society began on 23rd July 1740. Wesley became the leader of the United Societies with another society in Bristol starting in 1739.

2.2. United Societies with the characteristic of Eucharist

Before the evangelical conversion in May 1738, Wesley was convicted the significance of ritualism and mysticism in Oxford and in America.¹⁷² However after the conversion Wesley constantly stated the Eucharist as a major means of grace in his society. From this point Wesley showed his assertion of the values of participating with God's redemptive work in the perception of "means of grace". Wesley understood the means as: 'outward signs, words, or actions, ordained of God, and appointed for this end, to be the ordinary channels whereby he might convey to men, preventing, lifting or sanctifying grace.'¹⁷³ The "means" were not an end in themselves: But we allow that the whole value of the means depends on their actual subservience to the end of religion; that, consequently, all these means, when separate from the end, are less than nothing and vanity; that if they do not actually conduce to the

¹⁷¹ Cf. Journal 20/7/1740.

"about nine months ago certain of you began to speak contrary to the doctrine we had till then received. The sum of what of you asserted is this-"1. That there is no such thing as weak faith: that there is no justifying faith where there is ever any doubt or fear, or where there is not, in the full sense, a new, a clean heart."2. That a man ought not to use those ordinances of God which our church terms 'means of grace,' before he has such a faith as excludes all doubt and fear, and implies a new, a clean heart." You have often affirmed, that to teach the Scriptures, to pray, or to communicate, before we have this faith, is to seek salvation by works; and that ill these works are laid aside, no man can receive faith.

"I believe these assertions to be flatly contrary to the word of God. I have warned you hereof again and again, and be sought you to turn back to the 'law and the testimony.' I have borne with you long, hoping you would turn. But as I find you more and more confirmed in the error of your ways, nothing now remains, but that I should give you up to God. You that are of the same judgment, follow me.'

¹⁷² James H. Gigg, *The Living Wesley* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1891), pp. 87-100.

¹⁷³ Sermon 101.

knowledge and love of God, they are not acceptable in his sight.' ¹⁷⁴

Wesley categorized the means of grace as either "Instituted" or "Prudential". Regarding the Instituted Means of Grace, Wesley believed that there were at least five means of grace that had been evident in the life of Jesus in the Sermon on the *Means of Grace*.¹⁷⁵ In the sermon Wesley mainly dealt with three instituted means: Prayer, Scripture and the Lord's Supper.

In particular, The Lord's Supper can help us to understand Wesley's explanation of how grace might be channeled. Wainwright commented that Wesley had a powerful introduction to the means of grace in at least three different levels of meaning: as a memorial; as an immediate divine presence; and as an eschatological promise¹⁷⁶ to see the Lord.

Firstly, the memorial aspect of communion is not just a solemn recalling to mind of the events of Christ's death. Rather, it communicates a deeper sense of reliving the event in actions regarding Jesus' teaching of Eucharist¹⁷⁷. "Not only our mind or memory is involved, but all our senses as well."¹⁷⁸ In the dynamic drama of worship, the Eucharist is re-presented.¹⁷⁹ The events are recreated, connecting the worshiper not only with the initial Supper but also with each subsequent re-enactment in personal context.

Second is the immediate availability of grace. In an earlier dispute, certain Moravian quietists stressed that, since salvation came by faith alone, they were not "bound or obliged" to practice the ordinances of grace, including the Eucharist. Wesley, as noted in his journal from June 22 to July 20, 1740, opposed this viewpoint and could not remain within the Moravians due to disagreements about the means of grace, the Eucharist.¹⁸⁰ The heart of Wesley's argument was that the power of the Eucharist rests in its active communication of grace in the present.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Harper, 1998, p.19.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Geoffrey Wainwright, *Eucharist and eschatology* 3, reprint (Epworth 3 reprint 2002)

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Peter Atkins, *Memory and Liturgy* (Ashgate, 2004)

¹⁷⁸ Ole E. Borgen, "John Wesley: Sacramental Theology, No Ends without the Means," in *John Wesley: Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. John Stacey (London: Epworth Press, 1988), p.70.

¹⁷⁹ Ole E. Borgen, *John Wesley on the Sacraments* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1972), p.70.

¹⁸⁰ Journal 20/7/1740.

I showed at large (1) that the Lord's Supper was ordained by God to be a means of conveying to men either preventing or lefting, or sanctifying grace, according to their several necessities; (2) that the persons for whom it was ordained are all those who know and feel that they want the grace of God, either to "restrain" them from sin, or to show their sins forgiven, or to renew their souls in the image of God; (3) that inasmuch as we come to his table, not to give him anything but to receive whatsoever he sees best for us, there is previous preparation indispensably necessary but desire to receive whatsoever he pleases to give; and (4) that fitness is not required at the time of communicating but sense of our "state", of our utter sinfulness and helplessness; every one who knows he is fit for hell be just fit to come to Christ, in this as well as all other ways of his appointment.¹⁸¹

One can question if it is the actual elements, the bread and cup, which convey divine grace. Wesley would say no. Wesley referred to variation of the reformed doctrine of virtualism: "that the elements remained unchanged but Christ is nonetheless present through the Holy Spirit."¹⁸² It is real *mysterion* in Christian belief of Eucharistic worship. Wesley argued that a visible and active memorial of the Eucharist was a way of presenting the incarnation. Virtualism may be compared to Moravianism as a modern quietism.

Third the Eucharist includes an eschatological element. Wainwright understands that participation in the Eucharist is a "sign of the future banquet of the heavenly kingdom."¹⁸³ Since this heavenly feast is open to all, the Eucharist carries not only an eschatological message, but also an eschatological operation to announce its availability. This view stimulates a regular celebration of the Eucharist until the second coming of Jesus. Therefore, in the view of the instituted Eucharist, Wesley revealed "it is the duty of every

¹⁸¹ Cf. Sat. 28/6/ 1740.

¹⁸² Henry H Knight, *John Wesley and the Means of Grace* (London: Scarecrow, 1992), p.191.

¹⁸³ Geoffrey Wainwright, *Eucharist and Eschatology* (London: Epworth, 1978), p.56. Cf. the same author's book, *Doxology A systematic Theology* (London: Epworth Press, 1980). The book a Methodist theologian, Wainwright was the president of Lima conference of WCC in 1982.

Christian to receive the Lord's Supper as often as he can."¹⁸⁴ Wesley himself participated on the average of once every four or five days.¹⁸⁵ In addition, Wesley strongly stressed his ministers and laity that communion be served "every Sunday and holiday of the year."¹⁸⁶ He kept this not only because it was "a plain command of Christ,"¹⁸⁷ but also because of the Supper's ability to strengthen the spiritual life. "This is food for our souls: This gives strength to perform our duty and leads us on to perfection."¹⁸⁸ Wesley believed that the Eucharist is a particular means of grace which can aid the development of the perfect spiritual life.

Wesley believed that Christian life cannot be solitary. Individual life and communal life are connected in Christian spirituality. He also understood that his groups provided a means of grace by allowing people to embrace the communal life without having to fully withdraw from their everyday world. At issue was the necessity of living a practical Christian life (engaging daily with the world), and yet having a community available that was designed specifically for renewal and growth. Methodist groups gave people a sense of identity while incorporating them into Christian life. They were offered neutral ground to experiment with this life on cognitive, affective, and behavioural levels.¹⁸⁹ Wesley trusted the Holy Spirit to communicate grace to the individual at his or her level.¹⁹⁰ The characteristic of Methodist Society was strongly founded within the Eucharist of means of Grace.

In particular, the Eucharist is not only an essential aspect of instituted grace in church tradition of worship, but a key feature of Christian spirituality as well as Methodist characteristics. Therefore, for Wesley, the Eucharist was a quite meaningful means.

¹⁸⁴ Works, vol. 7, p.147.

¹⁸⁵ Harper, 1998, p.36.

¹⁸⁶ Works, vol 7, p.156.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p.145.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p.148.

¹⁸⁹ Henderson, p.161.

¹⁹⁰ David Lowes Watson, *The Early Methodist Class Meeting* (Nashville: Discipleship Resources, 1987), p.87.

3. Needs of the Eucharistic issue in Anglicans

After the separating from the Moravians Wesley and Methodists confronted theological issues in relation to communion within Anglicanism. For instance, in 1756, parish churches depicted some Methodists as subversive preachers and prevented them from attending communion services by either not advising their people, or not going there themselves.¹⁹¹ Wesley thus responded and taught against such statements through sermons and songs giving five reasons why the sacrament should be with Christians called Methodists who were also Anglicans.

First, it is a matter of Obedience to the Lord Jesus. Wesley, in his sermon *The Duty of Constant Communion*, spoke about a 'duty' of Christians. In the *HLS* Wesley illustrated this: "Obedient to thy gracious Word, We break the Hallow'd Bread"¹⁹², if Jesus bids me lick the dust I bow at his Command".¹⁹³ He saw what people were actually doing in the name of faith or benign neglect – their deeds were a blatant denial of Christ's command and that amounted to gross disobedience.¹⁹⁴ Whenever people spoke about advantages of communion Wesley said that benefits will come sooner or later, though 'perhaps insensibly'. Whether benefits have been or have not been felt yet, the command to receive communion constantly has to be kept.¹⁹⁵

Second reason was no doubt for the revival of Eucharistic history in scripture. Wesley

¹⁹¹ CWJ 25/10/1756

¹⁹² *HLS* 30(hymnal page)/2(verse).

¹⁹³ *HLS* 86/7.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. *HLS* 90/2 and 62/10

In vain the subtle tempter tries
Thy dying precept to repeal,
To hide the letter from our eyes,
And break the testmental seal,
Refine the solid truth away,
And make us free – to disobey

¹⁹⁵ Sermon 6 - The righteousness of the faith

recognized the significance of the ancient heritage of the Eucharist. Ted Campbell saw the motive behind Wesley's interest in the Eucharistic observance of Christian antiquity. Wesley tried to apply the 'methods' or practices of the early church into his generation.¹⁹⁶ Wesley was convicted that the ideal of the Eucharist in the history of Scripture was for daily communion: 'in the ancient church, everyone who baptized communicated daily'.¹⁹⁷ Wesley commented on Matthew 6:11 in the *ENNT* that the early Fathers interpreted 'give us this day our daily bread' in a 'sacramental sense...'. Wesley indicated that 'daily bread' ... was daily received in the Eucharist by the whole Church of Christ and highly esteemed till the love of many waxed cold...'.¹⁹⁸ Therefore Wesley argued that the early church had daily communion. Even before his Aldersgate experience of assurance Wesley asserted this point:

Let everyone therefore, who has either any desire to please God, or any love of his own soul, obey God, and consult the good of his own soul, by communicating every time he can; like the first Christians, with whom the Christian Sacrifice was a constant part of the Lord's Day service. And for several centuries, they received it almost every day; four times a week always, and every Saint's Day besides...¹⁹⁹

Wesley observed that when believers are 'falling away' from the God, the signs are the lessening 'of exactness' in private prayer, family duty, fasting, public service attendance, and in the partaking of the Lord's Supper.²⁰⁰ Its intention was 'restore the daily sacrifice!'²⁰¹

Thirdly, Wesley taught that there would be different degrees of believers in faith and that God has chosen certain methods to create and continue that faith (however so much), and that is through the 'means of grace'. This is another reason why all Christians need constant

¹⁹⁶ Campell, 1991, pp.107-108.

¹⁹⁷ Journal 17/6/1740.

¹⁹⁸ Sermon 26.

¹⁹⁹ Sermon101

²⁰⁰ Sermon 80.

²⁰¹ HLS 116/16

communion. The Eucharist is not a 'dead external sign'.²⁰² According to different levels of faith, the Eucharist 'transmits the Signified, the Grace is by the Means applied'.²⁰³ One encounters Christ at the Table and receives the benefits of this passion: 'chiefly here may Soul is fed...'.²⁰⁴ There are the benefits such as forgiveness of sins and refreshing of souls through the communion. That is crucial to a Christian's life and sanctification. Wesley advised Mr Knox, a seeker: 'lose no opportunity of receiving... the Lord's Supper'.²⁰⁵ In 1749 in *the Nature of Enthusiasm*²⁰⁶ Wesley preached that one form of enthusiasm is imagining that one can obtain grace without using the means to attain which God has provided. In the *Sermon on the Mount Discourse 13* in 1753²⁰⁷ he insisted that one who is wise will base one's hope of salvation on God's own means of obtaining it. For Wesley Communion is one of the essential 'works of piety'.²⁰⁸

Therefore, Wesley confirmed the necessity of the sacrament, so that he one day rebuked his brother Charles who was hesitating to administrate it to Christians although Charles knew the importance of the Sacrament: 'why do you omit giving the Sacrament at Kingwood? What is reading prayers at Bristol in comparison to this?'²⁰⁹

Fourthly, Wesley believed that the communicant's position demonstrates the believer's allegiance to Christ. In fact the word 'sacrament' arises from the Latin word *sacramentum* - 'an oath of allegiance' of a soldier. Indeed, the Wesley's thought that one renews one's baptismal vows at the Eucharist.²¹⁰ This understanding of the Eucharist is something of which today's communicants should be reminded. The oaths of commitment to Christ

²⁰² HLS 55/1.

²⁰³ HLS 71/1.

²⁰⁴ HLS 54/4.

²⁰⁵ JWL to Mr Knox (30/5/ 1765). Cf. Sermon 84.

²⁰⁶ Sermon 37.

²⁰⁷ Sermon 33.

²⁰⁸ Sermon 43.

²⁰⁹ JWL to brother Charles (31/10/1753).

²¹⁰ Sermon 101, Bowmer, 1951, p. 175.

become social and active between human witnesses together in Christian community: 'True followers of the Lamb ... and to all mankind declare...' ²¹¹ Wesley quoted the practice of the early church regarding the seriousness of this offence:

If any believe join in prayers of the faithful and go away without receiving the Lord's Supper, let him be excommunicated, as bringing confusion to the Church of God.²¹²

The oath to Christ is very social. Invitation to the Table makes social in Christ and represents an active commitment to community. Thus Wesley disapproved of the practice of non-communicating attendance. A core aspect of Eucharistic theology is to develop a practical Christian community. Wesley justified the allowing the communion:

It has been the custom ever since the Tabernacle was built, to have galleries full of spectators while the Lord's supper was administered. This I judged highly improper and therefore ordered none to be admitted but those who desired to communicate.²¹³

Fifth, Wesley understood the place of joy at the communion Table. To Wesley communion was not only duty or Christian religious deeds, but a joy experienced.²¹⁴ Dearing stated that the most distinctive feature of the Wesley Eucharist is the mood of joy comparing the *HLS* with those of Tractarian and evangelical writers.²¹⁵ Nancy Bissaker described the effects of the Eucharistic hymns on early Methodists, describing them as 'a treasure of divine truth, a body of divinity, and a good commentary of Scripture' which 'prepares the mind for love of Scripture, and for following Christ'.²¹⁶ The early Methodists were glad to sing from the *HLS* during their lengthy communions unlike many churches today. Flint says that the power of

²¹¹ Bromer, 1951, p. 175.

²¹² Sermon 101.

²¹³ Journal 1/4/1759.

²¹⁴ Sermon 80.

²¹⁵ Dearing, 1966, p.24.

²¹⁶ *AM* 1785, p. 164.

the hymns can be found more in the hymns of Charles Wesley than in Wesley's *sermons, notes or rules for societies*.²¹⁷ However, it is not denied that the Wesley brothers were very aware that Eucharistic hymns were a source of joy. But it should point out that Wesley took precautions against relying on positive feelings alone in hymns. For instance, his brother Charles wrote that several entries in his journal about the several times when reception of the sacrament gave him no feelings of comfort or joy.²¹⁸

When Wesley presided at the communion Table the service could last up to five hours because of the massive joyful crowd singing.²¹⁹ Wesley actively encouraged to sing the Eucharistic hymns in joy.²²⁰ This might be influenced by Law who had written in his book, *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, which was much loved by Wesley.

While you only read it, you only like it, and that is all; but as soon as you sing it, then you enjoy it, you feel the delight of it; it has got hold of you, your passions keep pace with it, and you feel the same spirit within you left seems to be in the words.²²¹

One example of the effects of joyful singing in communion was John Fletcher's use of a sacramental hymn. Wesley actually considered Fletcher's conversion experience at the Table and with the Eucharistic hymns. Wesley quoted a Fletcher's testimony as saying:

I proposed to receive the Lord's Supper on the following Sunday. I therefore returned to my

²¹⁷ Charles Wesley Flint, *Charles Wesley and His Colleagues* (Washington DC: Public Affairs, 1957), p. 193.

²¹⁸ CWJ 1/5/1738, 19/5/1738, 1/6/1738, 2/6/1738, 3/6/1738, 16/9/1739, 3/2/1751. Cf. after the eucharist to about 40 people, '... yet am I myself as a man in whom is no strength. I am wary and faint in my mind, longing to be discharged.' (CWJ 16/9/1739)

²¹⁹ JWJ 29/5/1743

²²⁰ Cf. 'the lists of the Wesley Hymns and Hymn-books' in John Telford, *The Methodist Hymn-book Illustrated* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1906), pp.15-17.

When Charles met his discouraged brother one day, he forced him to sing to Christ 'as he often forced me' and the depression lifted as they felt his presence (CWJ 13/5/1738). Up to early 1738 Charles Wesley was silent. 'His poetic genius really woke on Whit Sunday 1738, when he found the rest of faith. In the previous March he had a serious illness at Oxford, and on his recovery wrote two tender hymns.... After his conversion, all the springs of Charles Wesley's nature burst into song'. (John Telford's book, *The Methodist Hymn-book Illustrated*, p.3.)

²²¹ William Law, *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*. Edited by JC Reid (London: William Collins and Sons Co. Ltd, 1965), p.146.

room, and looked out a sacramental hymn. I learned it by heart, and prayed it over many times, intending to repeat it at the table. Then I went to bed with rather more hope and peace than I had felt for some time.²²²

The words in singing at the Table become a part of the person. The singing of hymns made a difference so that not only helps people to pray, but forms a sense of strength and a feeling of the words vibrating in the body as well as full souls.

There were reports that some Methodists were feeling the 'blood of Christ running upon their arms, going down their throats, poured like water upon their breasts and heart'. Some had imaginations and expelled them from the society.²²³ To those who might be tempted to trust in the sacrament excessively, especially because of good feeling Wesley received, Wesley replied,

With joy we feel its sacred power, But neither stars nor means adore...²²⁴

Wesley saw that feelings cannot be the basis on which people decide whether to take the Eucharist. Feeling is not a unique function of human being to experience the Eucharistic effects. The Eucharist is not from and for human feeling but for and from Jesus' love to humanity. Therefore, even though when there was no feeling, Wesley called for a holding on to the 'ancient paths'.²²⁵

One might wonder whether Moravians influenced Wesley the joy of sacrament of the Eucharist. But this was not taught by Moravians. Rattenbury noted that there was also a difference between Wesley and the evangelicals of the nineteenth century in terms of

²²² Journal 12/01/1755.

²²³ Journal 6/9/1742. Cf. JWL to the Reverend Dr Rutherford (28/3/1768).

²²⁴ HLS 62/8

²²⁵ HLS 90/5 Cf., 86/1-4

communion.²²⁶ Wesley's joy of Eucharist was with the hymns which encouraged the believers. For Wesley, the origin of joy within communion is from God not from other people. Therefore, communion is to be observed not due to the 'good feelings' one receives (or the lack of these) nor any 'magical' effects one associate with it, but because it was the Lord's command and it is a real means of grace. It was a living practice of the primitive church in its more 'holy' days, restoring the practice to the present church for the sake of the church's spiritual health. This rather objective rationale for constant communion with its authority and example taken from Scripture and tradition, called forth from the believer a response based on an act of will and trust. Was this enough to sustain Eucharistic observance amongst Wesley's followers?

While most of the time Wesley battled with those who down played the significance of the sacrament he dealt also with those who had such an exalted view of communion that he would not partake of it. Wesley opposed those who were afraid that the frequency of communicating might take away the respect due to the sacrament. Wesley sought to point them away from their fears of irreverence. He aroused them again to the question of obedience to daily Eucharist not only in Anglican but in all Christian churches. Spiritual reverence comes out of a faith response to either the love or fear of God in the Eucharist. Such reverence will not be lessened by frequent communion.²²⁷

After noting Wesley's reasons in pressing as frequent and regular communions as possible, what churches need to concede Wesley's Eucharistic rationale would be not dissimilar to those held by some of the reformers nor those held by early church. Yet where the reformers failed in the revival of Eucharistic life, Wesley succeeded to a significant degree. What could the Eucharistic motivation that spurred Wesley be deeper than these Eucharistic rationales? We will look for some answers in chapter 4.

²²⁶ Rattenbury, 1948, p.6.

²²⁷ Sermon 101.

4. Eucharistic place and presidency

There were different opinions in terms of where and who can administrate the Eucharist. It is still today's issues.

4.1. Places

There was a question: Where was the Eucharistic celebration? Since the early days of Methodist societies this question was of great significance and influenced the relationship with the Anglican Church and the subsequent separation from the established church subsequently.

During his life in Oxford Wesley's usual practice was to attend communion in Anglican churches and sometimes in the homes of the sick or in prisons, as the need arose.²²⁸ Wesley was already making the most of Eucharistic celebrations with the sick allowed by Cannon Law. There is a possibility that Charles had some communions in homes where no mention was made of any sick person being present.²²⁹ After establishing a Methodist society in 1739 the first Methodist communion service to be held outside Anglican Church buildings was on 29th June 1740 when Charles gave the sacrament to about 80 colliers at Kingswood.²³⁰ In Charles' *Journal* one notes that some Methodists were little by little being betrayed from Anglican Eucharistic Tables.²³¹ As early as 1741, Methodists publically revealed using unconsecrated buildings of their own, e.g, Kingswood school, for communion services.²³² In 1743, consecrated chapels of Huguenots were open for Methodist

²²⁸ CWJ 25/8/1737, 9/7/1738.

²²⁹ 20/11/1738 at Bray's; 24/11/1738 at Mrs Townsend's; 30/11/1738 at Mr Gambold's.

²³⁰ CWJ 29/6/1740.

²³¹ CWJ 20/7/1740, 27/2/1740.

²³² CWJ 12/4/1741. 2 weeks later (on July 13h) Charles again administered to about 70 people at Kingswood.

communion services, for example, the West Street Chapel, London.²³³ And City Road Chapel, London was the first to be built by the Methodists for sacramental worship.²³⁴ But until 1756 there were no evidences about administrating sacramental services except two places: London and Bristol.²³⁵ Nevertheless, with these emerging Methodist chapels made Methodists recede more physical distance from the Anglican Church. In particular the believers who expected constant communion in Methodist chapels faced a major problem when they were a great distance from an existing consecrated church. This problem later led Methodists to separate from their Anglican churches and was accompanied by Wesley's decision to ordain minister for work in America in 1784. This led to the irrevocable separation of Methodists and Anglicans in America and in the UK after death of Wesley.

4.2. Presidency of Administration

More difficult than the question of where communion could be celebrated was the question: Who can preside at communion? In the 18th century there were a variety of different understandings of presidency at Communion according to Christian groups who had different theological and practical views. There were arguments among Methodists regarding who can preside the Eucharist. Some Methodist laity wanted the permission to preside at communion such as Christopher Hopper and Joseph Benson.²³⁶ On the other hand a majority of Methodists including Wesley strongly maintained the presidency by ordained ministers alone. This is still a key issue in 2013. Some with a concern for mission might suggest that this view can cause trouble within the mission field. Wesley might too recognize the issue. Yet he affirmed in traditional teaching regarding the church order for mission.

In this study I would like to explain why Wesley thought that presidency should be by

²³³ JWW—'A Short History of The People Called Methodists'.

²³⁴ Baker, 1970:213 Cf JWW —'The Life of the Revd John Wesley'.

²³⁵ Bowmer, 1951, p.76.

²³⁶ Bowmer, 1951, pp.149-150. Cf. Thomas Jackson, *Life of Charles Wesley*, 2 volumes, 1841, p. 186; Frank Baker, 1948, p. 129.

ordained ministers rather than the laity and its relevance for Eucharistic worship. It can be another huge theme.

First of all, Wesley said that the priest to celebrate communion must be ordained by a bishop with apostolic succession recognized by the Anglicans. Wesley's view was influenced by his upbringing in a high-church family and by his own associations with some groups such as the Manchester non-jurors who were 'higher' than most in churchmanship. Wesley wrote:

.. it should not be right for us to administer either Baptism or the Lord's Supper unless we had a commission so to do from those bishops whom we apprehend to be in a succession from the apostles.²³⁷

Because of this high view, In late 1745, August Spangenberg, a Moravian, who Wesley met in America, argued that Wesley would not accept Calvinist and Lutheran pastors because they did not have the kind of apostolic succession he recognized.²³⁸ In Wesley's view, however, there was a difference between the succession of the Moravians and Roman Catholics those were valid and have legitimate ministers and Calvinist and Lutheran pastors.²³⁹

In 1746, Wesley's readings of Lord Peter King's 'account of the Primitive Church'²⁴⁰ and Bishop Edward Stillingfleet's *Irenicon*²⁴¹ assured him that bishops and presbyters are essentially of one order. Episcopacy is scriptural and is hence lawful.²⁴² Wesley recognized that neither Christ nor the apostles left any specific form of church government to be perpetuated. This understanding may provide a theory that the form of church

²³⁷ JWL to Wesley Hall (27/12/1745).

²³⁸ Baker, 1970, pp.42-43.

²³⁹ Cf. the British Parliament recognized the Moravian '*Unitas Fratrum*' 'as an ancient Protestant Episcopal Church' only in 1749.(Cross, 1974, p. 1512).

²⁴⁰ Journal 20/1/1746,

²⁴¹ JWL to Reverend Mr Clarke (3/7/1756).

²⁴² JWL to a Friend (10/4/1761).

government according to locals can be flexible. At this time he did not expect what would happen on in terms of the struggle of ordination for communion in his society in church politic.

By this time when the number of had Methodists increased and Wesley was confronted by a difficulty of ensuring regular Eucharist for Methodists. For instance, it was seen that there was the shortage of ordained Anglican clergy in most Methodist societies except for the key Methodist centers like London and Bristol.²⁴³ It became increasingly difficult to receive communion regularly. Firmly committed to the centrality of the sacrament in their faithful life and loath to do without reception, Methodists pushed Wesley to ordain their preachers for sacraments of Eucharist and Baptism. There were some Methodists who were unhappy about having to receive communion from priests whose lives and theology they did not approve of. Wesley understood their objections, acknowledging that the 'unworthiness of the minister of the unworthiness of some of the communions ... greatly lessen the comfort of receiving'.²⁴⁴ However instead of permitting ordination to laypeople Wesley insisted that the validity of the ordinance does not depend on the goodness of the minister: 'the holy God does bless the ministry of unholy men because God is not limited by their unholiness'.²⁴⁵ It seems that Wesley expected the lay preachers to understand the importance of church priesthood not like worldly state. His brother, Charles Wesley, in his poem *Wicked Priest* also sought to respect the authorisation of the priesthood.²⁴⁶ A priest in Wesley's understanding is different from a layperson for two reasons.²⁴⁷ First, ordination has conveyed an distinguished Christian character upon the person. This is an 'indelible character' received during the laying on of the hands by the bishop with the words, 'Receive the Holy Ghost, for the office and work of a Priest in the church of God...' meant the receipt of special spiritual

²⁴³ Cf. Bowmer, 1951, pp.63-69.

²⁴⁴ AM 1780, p. 103.

²⁴⁵ Sermon 104.

²⁴⁶ Cf. Baker, 1962, p. 213.

²⁴⁷ Khoo, 2005, pp.22-23.

authority to perform the sacraments.²⁴⁸ Second, the priesthood is instituted by God. That is commissioned by the church to offer the Christian sacrifice. Wesley reaffirmed that his unordained preachers did not administer the sacraments.²⁴⁹ As for the church, there is needed a duly ordered minister to offer the sacrifice in the name of all. In a letter to Mr Hall Wesley revealed that there is an 'outward' and real sacrifice, there has to be an 'outward' and real priesthood ordained and offered by the Bishop of Rome, and his successors or dependents, in the Church of England, as Vicars and Vicegerents of Christ.²⁵⁰

The logic of these two reasons has been retained by most established churches including Methodists. In this understanding Wesley might state Methodists should stay in the Church of England.

In spite of the preachers' clamour for authorisation to celebrate communion, Wesley never wavered in seeing the priestly ministry as the 'ordinary' gift/office of the Spirit and lay preachers as 'extraordinary' messengers.²⁵¹ In particular, for Wesley, the Old Testament offices of 'priest' and 'prophet' are distinct. In *The minutes of several conversations*, Wesley expressed Methodist preachers as the 'prophets'.²⁵²

Hence Wesley did not give the laity permission to celebrate communion if they were not ordained. However Wesley recognised the needs of more numbers of ordained priests. Charles prayed that some Anglican Bishop might accept to ordain Methodist preachers²⁵³ while Wesley endeavoured to explore several possibilities for the ordination of Methodist preachers. However the situation worsened. Even some independent churches protected the

²⁴⁸ JWW- 'A Father Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion Part I. Ibid.

²⁴⁹ JWW, A Farther Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion Part II.

²⁵⁰ JWL to Mr Hall (30/12/ 1745).Cf. Rattenbury, 1948, pp.76-77.

²⁵¹ Sermon 115.

²⁵² JWW-' Minutes of Several Coversations between the Revd Mr Wesley and Others from the 1744 to the year 1789.'

Question: In what view may we and our helpers be considered?

Answer : Perhaps as extraordinary messengers – provoke the regular ministers to jealousy to supply their lack of service towards those who are perishing for lack of knowledge

²⁵³ Bowmer, 1951, p.78.

Methodists from receiving communion.²⁵⁴ Although the number of Methodists was growing, there were more strict unsympathetic Anglican priests who closed communion to Methodists. As a result there revealed drastic plans among Methodists. One of plans was explored by Joseph Benson in 1775 and developed by John Fletcher. Fletcher proposed the organisation of the Methodists thus as; daughter church to our holy mother'. However, the plans were rejected by Wesley.²⁵⁵ Other plans included the purported enlisting the assistance of an Orthodox bishop – which Wesley also denied.²⁵⁶

Meanwhile there was a special case after the independence of America in 1776. Pleas for ordained ministers were heard from Methodist preachers serving in America.²⁵⁷ Wesley too sought the cooperation of the English Bishops for this special occasion.²⁵⁸ But all endeavours to help American Methodists to send ordained ministers by Anglican were not effective for some years either.

In 1784, Wesley continued to believe that Bishops usually performed ordinations in the ancient church but presbyters could ordain in case of necessity. But there was some charges in his thought that he started to believe himself able to ordain – though this was more open to presbyteral involvement – while Charles was exclusively Episcopal. Hence, Wesley had no qualms about ordaining his preachers himself, assisted by other presbyters. Although the word 'priest' was changed into 'elder' in the *Sunday Service* for America, Wesley never retracted from his understanding of sacrifice of sacrificing minister.²⁵⁹

Finally, Wesley, though he had a high church view of sacrament, became convinced that there could be ordination for mission amongst Methodists according to the higher command

²⁵⁴ AM 1789, pp. 470, 472.

²⁵⁵ Richard P Heitzenrater, *Wesley and the People Called Methodists* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1995), p.256.

²⁵⁶ JWW – 'The Life of the Revd John Wesley'.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., and JWL to Dr Coke, Mr Asbury and Our Brethren in North America(10/9/1784) '... there is none either to baptize or to administer the Lord's Supper'.

²⁵⁸ JWL, ibid.

²⁵⁹ Rattenbury, 1948, p.13

for mission of God than the world churches. On 1 September 1784 at 4 am, in a private house on Bristol's Dighton Street, Wesley ordained Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey as deacons, with Anglican priests, Thomas Coke and James Creighton assisting. The next day he ordained Coke to be Superintendent of the Methodist Church in America. Coke was instructed to ordain Francis Asbury, a lay missionary in America, and to set him apart to be a joint superintendent together with him. Whatcoat and Vasey were ordained elders on the same day and their ministry would be in America.²⁶⁰ It might be considered the devotional result of Francis Asbury's mission work, the new situation of independence from England which needed new church regulations.

Charles Wesley strongly disagreed with John Wesley's decision to ordain presbyters for work in America, suggesting that the ordinations were worthless. Charles dissolved his partnership with his brother, though not his friendship.²⁶¹ Nevertheless, Wesley continued to ordain and on 1 August 1785 ordained John Pawson, Thomas Hanby and Joseph Taylor for Scotland.²⁶² They were told explicitly to lay aside gown and bands when they crossed the border into England, ceasing to administer the sacraments.²⁶³ This concerned Wesley's opponents and so he considered whether the ordinations were justified because both North America and Scotland were outside the immediate jurisdiction of the Anglicans. Nevertheless in 1789, Wesley ordained Alexander Mather, Henry Moore, and Thomas Rankin for work in England. However, while he was alive, no preachers, even those ordained by him, administered the sacraments in England.²⁶⁴

One thing that is imagined is the possibility of ordinations for the constant Eucharist if Charles Wesley had been required by the ordained priests from Asbury in America. In

²⁶⁰ Journal 1/9/1784.

²⁶¹ CWJ 1.

²⁶² Journal 1/8/1785.

²⁶³ JWW- 'The Life of John Wesley'.

²⁶⁴ Bowmer, 1951, p. 79.

addition, it can be asked if today's ministers are limited by the jurisdiction of their regulations or orders of churches to celebrate the Eucharist.

It might be significant to note that when Wesley re-edited the *39 Articles of Religion* for the American Methodists, he removed *Article* number 16 on 'the Unworthiness of Ministers which hinders not the efficacy of the Sacraments'. Could it be that he too began to share their beliefs, or was it his recognition of the strong feelings of his people on the matter that brought about the deletion? Perhaps he too shared a concern that at least, on a subjective level, the character of the minister does affect the response of the people. By the time of this re-editing, the removal of the clause could have been his way of insisting that those whom he sent should live worthy lives as ministers of the word and sacrament.

5. Requirements to communicants

What did Wesley require of communicants before and at the Holy Table? Wesley's writings show his attitude and how serious he felt about receiving the Eucharist. In the *AM*, there is an account after account of the early Methodists struggling with these feelings:

(after determining to go for communion)

... but for weeks before, whenever I thought upon it, I was filled with horror. As the time drew nearer, my temptations were stronger; and all I had done in sinning against God, from the time I first received the sacrament to the present day, was brought home to my mind, with such aggravations, that I thought I had trampled upon the blood of the cross, and crucified the Son of God afresh, and that now, for me there remained no more sacrifice for sin.

(when he was receiving communion, a little wine was spilt accidentally) I thought I should have dropped to the ground. How I got to my feet, I know not; but the distress I now felt was

inexpressible...²⁶⁵

Wesley required communicants to prepare in mind and in practice. There were some issues in terms of requirement.

5.1. Baptism as an essential condition

From his early years, it seemed that Wesley had three criteria: 'valid' baptism, adequate and intensive preparation to ensure that there would be understanding of the meaning of Eucharist, faith and worthiness, and evidence of compliance to the rubric of the Anglicans. Confirmation was not as necessary for the sacrament. Wesley would admit to the Table to those who were baptised by ministers ordained by Bishops in apostolic succession. This ruled out the Dissenters; the Lutherans²⁶⁶ and the Calvinists. But Wesley required Thomas and Phoebe Hird, who had been Quakers, and two of their children while they were travelling on the ship *Simmonds* to America to be baptised.²⁶⁷ There is a record of Thomas and Mark Hird (the twenty-one years old son) receiving communion later,²⁶⁸ although the whole family could have been admitted to communion early as Christians.²⁶⁹ Wesley was open to the baptism of Moravians. So when Wesley baptised Ambrosius Tackner, a Moravian who had received what Wesley called 'lay baptism'. The next day, Tackner was given communion.²⁷⁰

While in Georgia, Wesley underwent pains to prepare new communicants for the sacrament,

²⁶⁵ AM 1779, pp. 186-7. Cf. AM 1779, pp. 571-3.

I joined the Society; but for a long while durst not venture to go to the Lord's Table. One Sunday I was determined to go; but when I approached, my heart failed me, and I went back without receiving but, though the distress of my mind, my legs were scarce able to support me; and, being filled with fear, guilt and shame, I tremble exceedingly: however at last, as a poor, weary, heavy-laden sinner, who had nothing to plead, but 'God be merciful to me for Christ's sake', I ventured to eat of that bread, and drink of that cup.

See more AM 1779, pp.301-2; 1788, p. 516; 1790, p. 11.

²⁶⁶ Cf. Sermon 132. Wesley remembered to regret years later that he had turned away a pious Lutheran minister from the Eucharistic Table as in America.

²⁶⁷ Journal 10/6/1735.

²⁶⁸ Journal 10/6/1736.

²⁶⁹ Cf. Journal 21/12/1735.

²⁷⁰ Journal and Diary 18/10/1735. 19/10/1735.

conducting classes for even one person.²⁷¹ It is possible that Wesley also insisted on intensive preparation using the discipline influenced by the Manchester Nonjuror. His parishioners accused him of restricting the benefits of the Lord's Supper to a small number of persons and refusing it to everyone who would not conform to his,

Set of penances, confession, mortifications and constant attendance at early and late hours of prayer very inconsistent with the labour and employment of the colony... refusing to administer the Holy Communion to well disposed and well living persons, unless they should submit to confessions and penances.²⁷²

Wesley too required the keeping to the rubrics of the *BCP* regarding the sacrament. The communicant was required to inform the celebrant of his or her intention to communicate before the communion service. When Sophia Hopkey in Georgia failed to inform him of her intention to communicate, he excluded her from the communion Table. In this particular situation, Wesley's pastoral act of discipline was complicated by the fact that Wesley had been in love with her and she had just chosen to marry someone else. Her uncle brought a charge against him. As a result of that Wesley had to leave his ministry in America to avoid the more serious process of the court case.²⁷³ For Wesley it would be a bitter experience that communicating could be a social and political issue and could make a struggle of ministry. It also reflects how 18th century Christians thought of receiving the communion. Even after his Aldersgate conversion, May 1738, Wesley continued baptising Dissenters and was summoned before Dr Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, partly to answer questions about that.²⁷⁴

²⁷¹ Bowmer, 1951, p. 32-33.

²⁷² Baker, 1970 p. 45.

²⁷³ Richard P Heitzenrater, *The Elusive Mr Wesley* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1984), Volume II, pp.49-61.

²⁷⁴ Journal 12/5/1742. Charles obviously followed John's practices, so he too was summoned by the Bishop of London over the same issues, albeit much earlier (CWJ 21/10/1738).

By this time around 1740, it seems that Wesley would seriously require evidence of preparation for communion.²⁷⁵ Wesley's experience had shown that worthy communicating 'with faith, humility and thankfulness' brings about the forgiveness of sins.²⁷⁶

5.2. Inward preparations

Regarding perceived 'scriptural warrant', when Wesley's detractors pointed to the parable of the wedding garment²⁷⁷ as proof that preparation is absolutely necessary for reception of the sacrament, Wesley replied that in the passage from Matthew 22:11, the wedding garment referred to is holiness.²⁷⁸

Wesley taught that there were three inward conditions for the Lord's Supper. The first was the acknowledgement of one's need. Without the acknowledgement of Eucharistic needs attendance was meaningless. Wesley taught that the acknowledgement of a fallen sinner can help the communicant acknowledge the needs of the Eucharistic Table. On 7 June 1740, Wesley wrote that 'no fitness is required at the time of communicating but a sense of our own state of utter sinfulness and helplessness'.²⁷⁹ Second, there must be the firm

²⁷⁵ It seems that Charles Wesley had a less rigid nature than Wesley. Charles had experienced grace without the usual preparation:

Last Saturday... I ... found myself utterly adverse to prayer, and spent half an hour in vain striving to recollect my dissipated thoughts. Upon this I gave over, and passed the whole night in the utmost trouble and discomposure of mind. I rose in the morning two hours later than usual, in utter despair of receiving myself in less than two or three. On my way a thought came across me that I might be less sin to receive even without the least immediate preparation (for the whole week till Saturday evening I had spent to my satisfaction) than to turn my back upon the sacrament. I accordingly resolved if I found myself anything affected with the prayers, to stay and communicate. I did find myself affected and stayed. I not only received the sacrament at that time with greater warmth than usual, but afterwards found my resolutions of pursuing considerably strengthened. This wasn't all: on Sunday night I received a great blessing from God and have continued since in a better frame of mind than I have yet known'(CWJ 2)

²⁷⁶ JWL to mother Susanna Wesley (18/6/1725).

²⁷⁷ Matthew 22:11.

²⁷⁸ Sermon 120 Cf. Journal 14/10/1789.

²⁷⁹ Journal 7/6/1740.

willingness to change one's life through the Table.²⁸⁰ Wesley believed that the Table is a good place to determine one's behaviour with the oath to Christ. When one has the accurate willingness can be a memorable place and can change behaviour. The last requirement was the desire to receive all that God wants to give his people through communion service.²⁸¹ When communicants expect to encounter God their inward attitude can be more serious. Through these requirements, Wesley did ask for adequate faith and an openness to God, relying on the exploits of Christ. It might be because of this that Wesley reminded his people that the disciples were unconverted when the Eucharist was instituted and when they first received it on the night Jesus was betrayed.²⁸²

Thus, Wesley stressed practical methods that prayer and self-examination would be good to form inward preparations for communion, but they are not 'indispensable'.²⁸³ Like the earlier opinions of Ken and Tillotson, Wesley felt that too much emphasis on preparation would result in people neglecting the very sacrament which could be a means of healing to them. In spite of these tensions Wesley was always interested in helping Methodists to prepare. For example, he distributed a book which contained meditation in prose and poetry about the Eucharist, and contained Wesley's edited version of Daniel Brevint (1616-1695)'s²⁸⁴ treatise

²⁸⁰ Cf. Sermon 101. Wesley preached: "All the preparation ... necessary is contained in those words: 'repent you truly of your sins past; have faith in Christ our Saviour, amend your lives, and be in charity with all men; so shall ye be meet partakers of these holy mysteries.'" And Cf., Sermon 120. "Only let a man first 'examine himself' whether he understand the nature and design of this holy institution and whether he really desire to be himself made conformable to the death of Christ, and so, nothing doubting, 'let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup.'"

²⁸¹ JWL to the Reverend Mr Church's Remarks (2/2/1744-5). "Inasmuch as we come to his Table, not to give him anything, but to receive whatsoever he sees best for us, there is no previous preparation indispensably necessary, but a desire to receive whatsoever he pleases to give."

²⁸² Journal 27/6/1740.

²⁸³ JWL: The Principles of a Methodist Farther Explained (Occasioned by the Reverend Mr Church's Second letter to Mr Wesley, 17/7/1746).

²⁸⁴ Brevint studied in Protestant University at Saumur and Oxford where he received his Master's degree and a fellowship. Exiled to France during the commonwealth. He met John Cosin and was ordained as an Anglican priest, having seen a French Reformed pastor. His friendship with King Charles II earned him three positions: the rectorship of Brancepeth, the prebendaryship of the Cathedra and deanery of Lincoln (Stevenson, 1994, pp.98-107). Many books he wrote were in terms of anti-Roman Catholic themes. During his exile period in Paris: *the Christian Sacrament and Sacrament*. In this book, each section, it was more devotional with scriptural references, lengthy typologies and theological reflections, was concluded with personal, moving prayers although he

The Christian Sacrament and Sacrifice (1673) as its preface shown in the *HLS*. Brevint described communicants as 'worthy'.²⁸⁵ Brevint too implied that Christ would not die for Pilate and the Jews alone.²⁸⁶ Brevint warned about unworthy participation in communion.²⁸⁷ Wesley removed the word, 'worthy' from Brevint's description and left out Brevint's reference to Pilate and the Jews.²⁸⁸ Wesley dropped Brevint's long warnings about unworthy reception.²⁸⁹ Wesley predicated those who are the intentionally 'wicked and impenitent' should not come for communion.²⁹⁰ Brevint has it as 'the impious'.²⁹¹ Brevint wrote that those who are admitted to the dinner of the Lamb 'must not' ²⁹²doubt of being admitted, Wesley wrote, 'need not'.²⁹³ Wesley used an 'intentional softening' of Brevint's emphasis on worthy reception and a warmer welcome to those who have a desire to receive the Eucharist.

Wesley addressed three issues regarding inward preparations: fear of judgement, joyful expectation, and receiving all that the Lord wants to give at the Table just as they are. This was so that Methodists should be concerned about the Table. Proper preparation in mind can help one enjoy the gifts of God.²⁹⁴ Preparation can be seen primarily as a safeguard against unworthy and thus bringing judgement upon oneself. The motivation would thus be more from fear than from a sense of joyful expectation. It can be asked that whether the unprepared receive Christ at the sacrament. About this question, there were different views among reformers. Calvin said that although Christ's presence is not dependent on the faith or worthiness of the communicant, the efficacy of the sacrament cannot be received by

intended to be against the understanding of the Roman Catholic and sought to put forward a more ancient and scriptural teaching on the sacrifice.

²⁸⁵ Brevint, 1673, p.13.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 14.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 42, 64-67

²⁸⁸ *HLS*, 1745, p.7.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., p.13, 19.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 13.

²⁹¹ Brevint, 1673, p. 42.

²⁹² Ibid., p. 58.

²⁹³ *HLS*, p. 17.

²⁹⁴ BA Gerrish, *Grace and Gratitude: The Eucharistic Theology of John Calvin* (Edinburgh; T&T Clark, 1993), p.172.

them²⁹⁵: 'That Christ is received without faith is no less monstrous than that a seed should germinate in a fire'.²⁹⁶ Taylor, sharing Calvin's view, put it very bluntly: 'The Blessed Sacrament before him that hath no faith is like messes of meat set up on the graves of the dead... the dead have no portion in them'.²⁹⁷ The 29th *Article of Religion* in the *BCP* stated that the 'wicked receive not Christ...' all the writes were agreed that even if the unworthy communicant receives nothing efficacious at the Table, the person also receives condemnation upon himself (cf. 1 Corinthians 11:27-30). There is an interesting note that Wesley left out of the 29th *Article of Religion* in his edition for American Methodists that Wesley admitted the fear of the people when he encouraged constant communion: 'what if we are not worthy to receive the sacrament?'²⁹⁸ And there would be another questions: What Wesley encountered in stating his requirement for the sacrament was: how much faith is needed before a person comes to the Eucharist? The English Moravians Wesley met had required absolute faith, defined as the absence of doubt or fear, as the criterion for the Eucharist. By what can it, the absolute faith, be assured? Wesley saw that there were two categories of people: the convinced unbeliever or heathen and the seeker who had some degree, albeit a small degree, of faith. Wesley would admit the latter group to the Table, inviting them to rely on the grace of Christ on the cross in their heart.²⁹⁹ Wesley believed that the faith they need will be given at communion.³⁰⁰

It must be appreciated at this point that Wesley spoke not to a normal sedate and 'respectable' congregation but to a great number of people on the fringe of or outside ordinary church life. The miners of Kingswood had a reputation of being a wild and ignorant

²⁹⁵ *Institutes*, vol 4, 17:33, Cf., 2:1407.

²⁹⁶ John Calvin, *Corpus Reformation (CR)*, edited by G Baum, E Cunitz and E Reuss et al (Brunswick, 1863-1900. 59 Volumes), Vol 9, p. 27.

²⁹⁷ Jeremy Taylor, *The Worthy Communicant*, Printed by TR for J Martyn, J Allestry, and T Discas, 1667. p. 143.

²⁹⁸ *HLS* 128/2.

²⁹⁹ Cf. Sermon 16.

³⁰⁰ Journal 31/12/39. 'I believe it right for him who knows he had not faith (that is conquering faith)... to communicate... because I believe (these) are means of grace to unbelievers.'

group of people.³⁰¹ Many of Wesley's preachers were illiterate, having come from 'low trades' such as 'tailoring and the like'.³⁰² Many of the prisoners were in a state of poverty. All these people were quite unlikely to have the faith that the preparation manuals required. Issues of strict morality and ethics for reception of the Eucharist were possibly stronger daily challenges for them than for those in the mainstream of society. Those who laboured in the mines, for instance, would not have sufficient time or energy to engage in in-depth faithful introspection and examination. The news of the free grace of God which welcomes them to the Table 'just as they were' could thus be easily misunderstood, abused.

Yet Wesley recognised the risk of preaching about this loosened requirement. It can be imagined how liberating the news of free grace (even for the worst of sinners) is for people who are already alienated from society and burdened by the judgement of one's conscience.

5.3. Infant Eucharist

Methodist revival in the 18th century affected not only adults but children as well and was effected by Eucharistic practice. Wesley believed there is not any limit age of free grace to take the communion but only spiritual accountability³⁰³ as Deacon taught. Talyor indicated that 'infants, fools and madmen' could receive communion (it was 'lawful') but that was unnecessary since they cannot sin nor fall from grace.³⁰⁴ This opinion was quite similar to that of Luther's. Deacon, however, argued that children should be admitted to communion because they were included in all the Old Testament 'sacraments' like the Passover, the eating of the manna and drinking of the water from the rock and in participation in the corporate fasts and feasts. The Christian sacrament sanctifies them. As Christ blessed them at baptism, he can make communion a means of grace for them too. They would need to be

³⁰¹ Journal 17/11/1739, 20/7/1760 and JWL to Mr Nathanael Price, of Cardiff (6 /12/1739).

³⁰² Sermon 104.

³⁰³ Bowmer, 1951, p. 122.

³⁰⁴ Taylor, 1667, pp.135-6, 147f, 156f.

put under church discipline after communicating and the practice of excommunication is as applicable to them as it is for adults.³⁰⁵ Not surprisingly, Deacon included an office in his service book of 1734 (*The Complete Collection of Devotions*) for administration of the sacrament to infants. Moravians permitted children to communicate if they could give evidence of their faith. Their leaders would examine the children first in private, then in public. If the children were deemed ready, there would be an exhortation before the children were confirmed through the laying on of hands. Communion was then given to the children.³⁰⁶ It must be said that such openness to children was not unquestioned by people of that time. In relation to infant baptism Wesley's requirement for children's communion was similar to that for adults. Wesley himself was admitted at the age of 8 by his father.³⁰⁷ In Savannah Wesley regularly met children on a Saturday for reading and prayer, and after careful preparation and due probation he permitted them to partake of the Lord's Table.³⁰⁸

Wesley also saw that Moravians also admitted children's participation to the Table. In July, 1737, Wesley asserted Spangenberg's answer about the question 'and at what age do you commonly confirm and begin to instruct and prepare them for the Lord's Supper? Wesley's norm of admitting infants at communion arose from his understanding of Eucharistic spirituality.³⁰⁹

Wesley paid much attention to the children in Methodist society. For instance, he treated children as 'little adults' at Kingswood School. Wesley recorded that Mr James Hindmarsh, one of the Masters at Kingswood School, once reported³¹⁰ that ten of the children gathered round, asked him earnestly what they must do to be saved. Hindmarsh spent some time

³⁰⁵ Deacon, 1716, pp.341-379.

³⁰⁶ Journal 12/8/1748.

³⁰⁷ Tyerman, 1866, p.18-19.

³⁰⁸ This practice was influenced by Manchester Nonjuror. Deacon's service book contained an office for the administration of the sacrament to infants.

³⁰⁹ Cf. Journal 31/7/1737. Wesley answered: 'We instruct children in Christianity from their infancy, but so as to regard their understanding rather than memory, I have known a child of eight years old admitted to communicate and a man of seventy not yet admitted'.

³¹⁰ Journal 26/9/1770. Cf. 28/9/1770 As soon as Wesley arrived children gathered round and they asked what they must do to do saved. In the evening Wesley explained to all the Children the nature of Lord's Supper.

answering their question and tried to explain to them the nature of the Lord's Supper as well. They received assurance of salvation and it was not long before three were given their first communion. Wesley sternly expected of them a religious experience so that its children were admitted to the communion.³¹¹ It was not uniform practice among the Anglicans in that generation. There were even those who found instructing young children about communion a questionable practice, for instance, a letter from a Miss MB on 4 March 1777.³¹²

Bowmer stated that 'the Wesleys never refused the Sacrament to serious-minded children' at the age of nine or ten in his society. John Bennet's Minutes notes that the question was raised in the conference of 1748.³¹³ However, there is little evidence of any widespread administration of communion to children outside Kingswood School. Children at Kingswood school too joined in a band and class.³¹⁴ Wesley himself was impressed about it as 'I suppose such a visitation of children has not been known in England these hundred years.'³¹⁵

Today this is still a key issue of disagreement between churches. Some churches do not accept infant baptism for communion. So there is limit of age for it. It would be an issue that children are unable to discriminate or discern Christ's body, but in Wesley's view it can be admitted that children know the relationship of love with family or neighbours. Likewise there would be children who can see the love of Jesus when they listen to the preaching or

³¹¹ Journal 5/9/1773. "I examined sixteen of them who desired to partake of the Lord's Supper. Nine or ten had a clear sense of the pardoning love of God. The other were fully determined never to rest till they could witness the same Confession." Cf., more record 2/10/1784. And Charles Wesley's administration to children (CWJ 6/8/1749)

³¹² AM 1788, p. 103. Miss MB asked: "Is it no useless, if not absurd, to teach children of six or seven years old, the answers to the question on the sacrament of the Lord's Supper? Alas! What can they comprehend of that sublime mystery? How crude must be their conceptions (if they have any) of those deep and strong expressions! Ought I then against my judgment to teach it them, because their parent expect me so to do?"

³¹³ Bowmer, 1951, p.121.

Q : May not the children in every place be formed into little societies?

A : Let the preachers try by meeting them apart and giving them suitable exhortations.

(Cf. Bowmer, 1951, p.122)

³¹⁴ Journal 5/9/1773.

³¹⁵ Journal 12/9/1773.

teaching about the love of Jesus. So there can be no age limit with regards to communion. Even Children can show the sadness of His death or the Joy of His resurrection from the death. They can participate in self-examination fully in the communion.³¹⁶

5.4. Attending disciplines

Wesley warned his people not to take communion unworthily. Regarding Bennet's *Minutes*, such 'admission notes' were in use since 1747.³¹⁷ Class tickets were issued to Society members who had already been examined by their leaders in the state of morals and faith. The tickets were distributed each quarter since 1741.³¹⁸ In Scotland, metal tokens were used in place of tickets. With the tickets or tokens, members could be admitted to Methodist communions.³¹⁹ Visitors could request admission 'notes' from Wesley or his assistants before the communion. In 1776, in a letter to Mr John Benson, Wesley mentioned that those who have not 'constantly met their Classes', who did not 'solemnly promise to deal with stolen goods no more' should not be given tickets.³²⁰

But it did not mean that the use of admission tickets to members was as the Methodist Eucharistic policy. The Methodists had their habitual preparation in their Societies, Classes and Bands. Through those meetings they requested intensive and focused preparation for the sacrament. They were educated and trained systemically. Membership in the Methodist Societies, Classes and Bands indicated that the person was not only seeking 'to flee from the wrath to come' but was committed to seeking a pious life of Christian perfection. With

³¹⁶ There is an example of Wesley's understanding of the Eucharist amongst children today for instance, Selly Oak Methodist Church, Birmingham. The church has a Eucharistic service once a month on the first Sunday. All church family including infants who were baptised kneel along the communion rail.

³¹⁷ Bowmer, 1963, p.112.

³¹⁸ Cf. Davies, Rupert; George, A. Raymond; Rupp, Gordon (editors), *A History of The Methodist Church in Great Britain*, Volumes 4, (London: Epworth Press, 1988), p. 25.

³¹⁹ Journal 1/4/1759.

³²⁰ JWL to Mr John Benson (7/11/1776).

assessment in terms of the three Eucharistic requirements of Wesley: acknowledgment of personal faithful assurance, desire for the means of grace and firm willingness to change one's life, Methodists including children were met in the membership criteria. There was no exception from the three requirements. If a person failed to meet them they would not be admitted at communion.

So Wesley strongly expected parish priests to discipline their people with the practice of excommunication.³²¹ Two actions of Wesley, however, could give rise to questions as to whether he had different thoughts about the practice of excommunication. When Wesley abridged Fleury's *Moeurs des Chretiens*,³²² he left out chapters covering the relics of the martyrs and confessors, Eucharistic mysteries, ascetic orders and excommunication. He also omitted *Article 33* of the *Articles of Religion* which was about excommunication when he abridged them for America church in 1884. Wesley certainly approved of the practice of excommunication.³²³ However, in the case of Fleury, Wesley could have been reacting to possible Roman Catholic connotations in those passages he omitted. In the case of the *Articles of Religion*, Wesley's interest could have been more pastoral. The *Article* was entitled *of excommunicate Persons*, how they are to be avoided and that title in some ways militated against the more generous spirit of Wesley's preaching of grace for all. Aware that the people in America were already living with the lack of ready spiritual resources which the English Methodists could take for granted Wesley preferred to encourage them to come for the sacrament rather than discouraging them further with a threat of punishment.

Therefore, it is clear that Wesley stressed the importance of discipline for the Eucharist.

³²¹ Cf. JWW 2.

Nay, who dares repel one of the greatest men in his parish from the Lord's table; even though he be a drunkard or a common swearer; yea, though he openly deny the Lord that bought him? Mr Stonehouse did this once. But what was the event? The gentleman brought an action against him for the terror of all such insolent fellows in succeeding times.

³²² Claude Fleury, a Roman Catholic, wrote *Moeurs des Chretiens* in 1682. The Book described the life of the Christian community from the first to the seventh century, with special attention to the areas of discipline and ritual. The English translation of the book, *An Historical Account of the Manners and Behaviour of Christians*, was published in 1698. While Wesley was in Georgia, he studied Fleury's work and abridged it, limiting it to the first three centuries. (Campbell, 1991, p.35.)

³²³ Journal 20/3/1743 (in Newcastle, above fifty persons put away)

Wesley believed that one's attitude should be humble as one approaches the sacrament³²⁴ and after reception, one should leave reverentially, not 'bowing, courtesying and talking to each other just as if they were going from a play'³²⁵ or talking in 'the most trifling manner'.³²⁶ Even priests are to be mindful of giving glory to God at the sacrament. Wesley remembered a 'dreadful inscription' placed just over the communion Table which warned of curses on the priests should they not glorify God.³²⁷ He wrote with approval of the celebration led by a Bishop as that done with 'admirable solemnity'.³²⁸ Let it be said that reverence, seriousness and solemnity does not mean the absence of Joy, as was mentioned earlier.

5.5. Converting ordinance

Wesley used the phrase, converting ordinance, in relation to communion. It was a very progressive consciousness. He first mentioned the concept in the sermon *The Duty of Constant Communion* (1732). This does not necessarily mean that Wesley had not referred to it in his preaching. He had been known to preach extemporaneously before in *Journal* on 17 Oct 1735.³²⁹ The words 'converting ordinance' were used as a proof that Wesley practised a totally 'open' communion where anyone, even the unbaptised and the unconverted, could come to receive the elements. This is an example of his advanced feature of Eucharistic view in practice.³³⁰ Interestingly, Wesley confirmed the converting ordinance for Methodists and referred to the phrase twice - *Journal* on 27 June 1740 and *JWL* to Reverend Mr Church's Remarks (2/2/1774-5) in the early Methodist Society. In the *Journal* Wesley wrote about his statement of it:

³²⁴ Sermon 2.

³²⁵ *Journal* 27/3/1752.

³²⁶ *Journal* 23/4/1758.

³²⁷ *Journal* 13/8/1759.

³²⁸ *Journal* 1/6/1775.

³²⁹ Cf. *Journal* 28/1/1776.

³³⁰ Bowmer, 1951, p. 106.

In the ancient Church, every one who was baptised communicated daily. So in the Acts we read, they “all continued daily in the breaking of bread and in prayer”. But in latter time, many have affirmed that the Lord’s Supper is not a converting, but confirming ordinance. And among us it has been diligently taught that none but those who are converted, who have received the Holy Ghost, who are believers in the full sense ought to communicate.³³¹

There is much in Wesley’s sermons which supports this view. This consciousness was clearly revealed in his late preaching. On 21 April 1777 Wesley recalled the practice of barring Dissenters and Lutherans from communion and not accepting lay baptism in his earlier sermon ‘On faith’ which ended with the phrase ‘full of these sentiments of zeal for the church, for which I bless God, He has now delivered me’.³³² Did this imply that Wesley in older age accepted Dissenter and Lutherans even lay baptism? Added to this sermon is Wesley’s refusal to see baptism as automatically guaranteeing ‘the NewBirth’.³³³

Even though the openness of the Table to anyone could become seriously arguable it seemed unmistakable. In the Sermon, *The Means of Grace*, Wesley preached that anyone can come to the Table as long as they are willing to receive what God wants to give.³³⁴ But others criticised this as a misinterpretation of Wesley’s teaching. For instance, Wainwright insisted that ‘there is no active support in Wesley for the weird and sentimental practice of parts of late Methodism in regularly welcoming the unbaptised to the Lord’s Table’.³³⁵ White

³³¹ Journal 27/6/1740.

³³² Sermon 122.

³³³ Sermon 18: the Marks of the New Birth.

Say not then in your heart, ‘I was once baptised and therefore I am a child of God’. How many are baptised gluttons and drunkards, baptised liars, commons swearers etc. To say then the ye cannot be born again, that there is no new birth but in baptism, is to seal all under damnation, consign you to hell, without help, without hope, lean no more on the staff of that broken reed, that ye were born again in baptism.

³³⁴ Sermon 16.

³³⁵ Geoffrey Wainwright, *Wesley and Calvin* (Melbourne: United Church Press, 1987), p. 85.

agreed with this comment ³³⁶ as did Staples. ³³⁷ This may be as a result of a misunderstanding of the context of Wesley's sermons concerning some of Methodists who were baptised by nonconformist ministers. It means baptism was not permitted for communion in Anglican Churches. People were inwardly prepared as Wesley required. Such a view should be interpreted in light of Wesley's whole understanding of Eucharistic theology and practice. Wesley regarded those who had an experience of being born again in a particular context. Bowmer indicated the context of Wesley's teaching in his sermon, *Means of Grace*. Bowmer argued that the context of this sermon related to the admission of 'outsiders' to the sacrament and that Wesley was struggling to get 'insiders', namely, members of the society, to attend:

Wesley's premise was 'the Lord's supper is a converting ordinance' but this conclusion was not 'there everyone may come' but 'therefore members ought not to stay away, even if they had not received the full assurance of faith',³³⁸

Bowmer further argued that Wesley, while defending himself against the charge of encouraging people to partake without due preparation, indicated that he referred to the conditions of membership in the Methodist societies. Wesley declared the preparation with 'a willingness to know and do the whole will of God' and 'earnest desires of universal holiness'.³³⁹

Substantially, it must be admitted that the latter group of people have a point. Why did Wesley's view of Baptism in relation to the Eucharist change from the early church? With regards to baptism, it would frankly be difficult to criticise the late Wesley for going against

³³⁶ James F White, *Sacraments as God's Self Giving* (Neville: Abingdon Press, 1983), p. 129.

³³⁷ Rob L Staples, *Outward Sign of Inward Grace: The Place of Sacrament in Wesleyan Spirituality* (Kansas City: Beacon Hill, 1991), pp. 263-4.

³³⁸ Cf. Bowmer, 1963, pp.109-113.

³³⁹ JWL to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London Occasioned by His Lordship's Late Charge to His Clergy(11/6/1747).

the history of church tradition by admitting the unbaptised to the Table because Wesley in his early ministry required baptism before he administered communion to the person.³⁴⁰

Wesley accepted practical records of the early church which would certainly place baptism as the most primary requirement for the Eucharist. The *Didache* says, 'let none eat or drink of your Eucharist but such as have been baptised into the Name of the Lord, for of a truth the Lord hath said concerning this, give not that which is holy unto dogs'.³⁴¹ This was still alive. Most 18th century theologians stressed the baptism for the Table. Taylor wrote that no unbaptised people could come to Holy Communion.³⁴² Waterland believed confirmation as expedient but baptism as strictly necessary.³⁴³

One of prerequisites for the 18th century general communion was baptism. It would be natural to expect that all of Wesley's followers were already baptised. For instance, regarding Quakers, there was no evidence of that but there is at least a record of four Quakers plus seven more who were 'educated among the Quakers' baptised by Wesley between the years 1747 to 1756.³⁴⁴ Albin found in his study that of those whose church affiliation was recorded, 63.4% of the early Methodists had Church of England roots. Non-conformists accounted for 10%, Roman Catholic for 2.8%, Quakers 1.6%.³⁴⁵

Bowmer's textual study underlined the significance of knowing the context in which Wesley preached. This knowledge can help to assess whether the 'converting ordinance' reference was meant to be only for 'insiders' who were possibly baptised in the Methodist societies and in the 'seeker' category.

³⁴⁰ Sermon 132.

³⁴¹ *Didache*, chapter 9, p.5.

³⁴² Taylor, 1667, p.145.

³⁴³ Waterland, 1737, p.538.

³⁴⁴ Journal 1/5/1747, 6/4/1748. 30/4/1750, 2/8/1752, 16/10/1756.

³⁴⁵ Albin, 1985, p.276.

There would be some questions: “How did Wesley come to see and emphasise the converting role of the sacrament?” Or it can make the question: “Was it his ‘heart warming experience’ which changed him to open the Table to anyone?” or it can remind the faithful impact from the Moravians who do not stress the Eucharist but Wesley might admit their inward assurance of faith which is required for communion. Rack notes the ‘converting ordinance’ was ‘one new and highly unusual notion... to Eucharistic doctrine’. Rack stated that Wesley used it to assure those who had been frightened the sacrament by the intensive preparation schools of his time:

This is so unusual and has so little precedent. The Eucharist has then been as a sacrament of sanctification- a confirming ordinance. He only added a converting function to it after his conversion. There was little encouragement for such a notion in tradition. Luther and Calvin admitted that the eucharist might sometimes, exceptionally act to bring remission of sins or ‘ingrafting into Christ’. High church Anglicans stuck to the ‘confirming’ function, though it is interesting that Waterland admitted that the eucharist might convey all aspects of Christ’s work, including cleaning from sin; and Wesley may well have read this. In his 1733 Sermon on Constant Communion, he says that it conveys ‘forgiveness of our past sins’³⁴⁶

Careful reading, however, of *Article 25* of the Anglican Church (*Of the Sacrament*), supports Wesley’s view that communion is a ‘converting’ as well as a ‘confirming’ sacrament. The words in the *Article* correspond to Wesley’s words: ‘communion quicken as well as strengthens’. The teaching was not new as Rack supposed, but perhaps it was not so clearly spelt out or emphasised. The Puritans and the Moravians had no such teaching about ‘converting ordinance’, although among the Independents there were a few exceptions. People like William Prynne, John Humphreys and Jonathan Edward’s father-in-law, Solomon Stoddard in New England, opened communion to the unconverted in hope of converting

³⁴⁶ Rack, 1992, p. 405.

them, meeting with some success in local revivals.³⁴⁷ Selleck agreed with Rack that Wesley's 'converting ordinance' idea was a departure from Anglican and reformation divinity and called it Wesley's 'lasting offering to sacramental theology'. Selleck indicated that Wesley could have borrowed and developed Stoddard's idea of 'converting ordinance'. Stoddard had merely seen the sacrament as a converting ordinance because it preached the word, i.e, the sacrament was a visible word. Wesley saw it as more than that, for the sacrament is of itself a means of grace.³⁴⁸

The study of Wesley's Eucharistic practices has left us with three theological questions. First, Wesley encouraged Eucharistic participation but this does not seem to adequately explain the reason for the followers' enthusiasm. Second, Wesley admitted lay people to preach but not to preside at Eucharistic celebrations in his society. A properly ordained priest must preside at it. Why did he insist on priesthood? If the role is broken what may happen in the church? What was his concern about permitting the lay people to Eucharistic worship? Third, the three requirements for the Lord's Table were adequate knowledge regarding the Eucharist, sufficient faith and evidenced worthiness. But Wesley was open in his Eucharistic requirement from his contemporaries. Why was Wesley open in the way? These questions would link to his Eucharistic theology and the ministerial tasks of Eucharistic education/training.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

³⁴⁸ J Brian Selleck, *The Book of Common Prayer in the Theology of John Wesley* (New York: Drew University Press, 1983), pp.135-6.

Chapter 4. Eucharistic Theology

1. Theological resources

Wesley's theology was influenced by the circumstance surrounding the growth of Methodist societies. Such a statement requires support from Wesley's own theological views and ministerial methods as they relate to theological tradition and Eucharistic theology. As seen above, in Chapter 2, Wesley's understanding arose from his reading of the reformers from the early 1740's and, in particular, through his debates with Moravians and Calvinists.³⁴⁹ Wesley protected Methodist practice through his discoveries from unnecessary or wrong theologies or practices after he read the reformers' writings and criticized their views.

Wesley's own Eucharistic theology was revealed in the *HLS* (1745), in which he noted that his Eucharistic view was mostly inspired by Daniel Brevint. Brevint was a person who died eight years before Wesley was born. Brevint was serious about Eucharistic life. Brevint's

³⁴⁹ By this time Wesley confronted many theological issues in Methodists. Cf., Journal 15/6/1741 Wesley read *Luther's Comment on the Epistle to the Galatians*, 9/7/1741 he stayed in the Bodleian Library to read books regarding Calvin.

An event of struggle with George Whitefield in 1741 was a shock after Whitefield returned from America. Whitefield was angry because he thought Wesley had been preaching a different gospel from him. Wesley met him. But it was the differences of theology of salvation between Calvin's Predestination (Whitefield) and Free Willingness (Wesley). As a result, they separated with like Armenian Methodists and Calvinism Methodist.

book inspired most of the Eucharistic hymns written by Wesley brothers who appended an edited version of his book as a preface to the *HLS*.³⁵⁰ While Wesley received inspiration from Brevint who was anti-papal but not nonjuror, Brevint had received his formation at the French Calvinist school at Saumur. Stevenson believed that Brevint could have been influenced by Philippe du Plessis-Mornay's *De l'institution, usage et doctrine du saint sacrement de l'eucharistie en l'eglise Ancienne* (1598). Mornay's style was to put Christ on the Cross at the centre, inviting the worshipper to view him through Biblical images and references to his sacrifice.³⁵¹ Wesley could have inherited this style from him. Wesley reduced eight chapters in Brevint's book to six.³⁵² That was a result of his studies of Eucharist comparing other views. Why did he approve Brevint's view?

It might be because of the theological resources Wesley had been researching. However, it should be said that the first key time in Wesley's developing view of the Eucharist was in Oxford. For instance, Sally Kirkham, sister of fellow Oxford holy club member Robert Kirkham, was a good friend of John's in his early years as a Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. Wesley had several visits to her family at her father's rectory in Stanton some forty miles from Oxford, sometimes accompanied by Charles.³⁵³ She was almost Wesley's spiritual guide in Oxford, providing him with faithful conversations and readings. Deacon and others like Law and Taylor (the latter who more through their books) left their imprint on Wesley. His theology was also shaped with his encounters with groups such as the Manchester Nonjuror, Moravians, deists, the mystics and the Roman Catholics as well as Anglicans.

In addition, Green recommended a list of books (not exhaustive) read by Wesley from 1723

³⁵⁰ Wainwright, 1995, p. vi.

³⁵¹ Stevenson, 1994, pp. 105-6.

³⁵² Bowmer, 1951, p. 167

³⁵³ Rupert E Davies, *Methodism* (London: Epworth, 1976), p. 43

to 1734.³⁵⁴ Campbell's book *John Wesley and Christian Antiquity*, especially his Appendix 2³⁵⁵ and Wesley's own Journals, letters and other works (including the fifty volumes of *A Christian Library* he edited) inform our knowledge of Wesley's resources. As a result of all these encounters Wesley was aware of the theological trends of his day. Some of these trends challenged him.

There are constraints on the attempt to trace the resources of Wesley's Eucharistic study. First, there exists the cross-fertilisation of some materials: the *BCP* itself, for instance, had several sources ranging from the Fathers of the early church to the continental reformers. Second, Wesley might have read an author without receiving any significant impact on one occasion, while the writings of another on the same theme might have spoken to him on a later occasion. Which author was the source then? Again, the combination of the opinions of several authors, friends or experiences influenced Wesley's beliefs. What Wesley read, composed or edited could sometimes but does not necessarily provide a clear picture of his own theology. Wesley edited, for instance, *A Christian Library*, but when it was published,

A hundred pages were left in that he had scratched out; so that the work cannot be taken as an authoritative statement of Wesley's doctrinal teaching.³⁵⁶

The resources Wesley employed for his understanding of theology reflected Outler's Quadrilateral: the Scriptures, Christian Antiquity, Reason, and Christian experience.³⁵⁷

1.1. Scripture

³⁵⁴ Green, 1961, pp .305-319.

³⁵⁵ Campbell, 1991, pp. 125-134.

³⁵⁶ Richard Green, *The Works of John and Charles Wesley: A Bibliography* (London: Methodist Publishing House, 1906), p.62

³⁵⁷ Albert C. Outler, "The Wesleyan Quadrilateral - In John Wesley" in *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 20:1 (Spring, 1985). Cf. *Wesley and the Quadrilateral: Renewing the Conversation* for the most recent and much-needed commentary on the Quadrilateral, written by several important contemporary Wesleyan scholars in order to offer a balanced perspective of the Wesleyan Quadrilateral.

In generally, the sacrament of Eucharist is regarded as means appointed by Jesus Christ to bring the members of the church into communion with his death and resurrection, and thus with himself through the Holy Spirit (Mark 10:38 – 39, Matt. 28:19 - 20; Acts 2:38; Rom. 6:3 - 5; 1 Cor. 10:1-5ff and 11:23 - 27). The Eucharist was within the early Church (Acts 2:41 - 42; 10:47; 20:7, 11), along with the proclamation (Kerygma) and teaching (Didache) as a core part of Christian life. The early Christians understood the Eucharist in compromising the proclamation of the gospel, no mere recital of the events of the life, death, resurrection, and ascension of the Son of God. It was inevitable that the Lord's Supper, the other visible counterparts of Kerygma, should come to be regarded as giving fellowship in the same Mysterion of the Word made flesh (1 Tim. 3:16), and should be interpreted as itself partaking in the mystery of the relationship between Christ and his Church (Eph. 5:32).³⁵⁸

Wesley primarily appealed to the Scriptures for all doctrinal authority. He affirmed the "written word of God to be the only and sufficient rule both of Christian faith and practice".³⁵⁹ For Wesley, Jones stated, the Scripture was the supreme authority for Christian teaching of the Eucharist. Wesley stressed it more often than all the other authorities combined in his ministry. Wesley's interpretation of Scripture was not in the least enamored with doctrinal speculation but was intensely concerned with his consuming soteriological interest.³⁶⁰ Both Reformation and Anglican heritage taught *sola Scriptura*, which no doubt influenced Wesley's love for the scripture. His passion for Scripture can be well expressed in his own words, "O give me that book! At any price, give me the book of God! I have it: Here is knowledge enough for me. Let me be *homo unius libri*".³⁶¹ Wesley attested to this fact himself and his Sermons, Journals and letters are rarely without scriptural references.

³⁵⁸ See B Leeming, *Principles of Sacramental Theology* (1956)

³⁵⁹ Cf. *Works*, 8:340, "The Character of a Methodist".

³⁶⁰ Scott J Jones, *John Wesley's Conception and use of Scripture* (Nashville: Abington, 1995), pp. 216-219.

³⁶¹ *Works*, 5:3, "Preface."

Lindbeck gives an apt picture of the Wesley's attitude forward the Scripture:

For those who are steeped in them, no world is more real than the ones they create. A scriptural world in thus able to absorb the universe. It supplies the interpretive framework within which believers seek to live their lives and understand reality. Scripture creates its own domain of meaning and the task of interpretation in to extend this over the whole of reality.³⁶²

The *HLS* contains tightly packed poetic descriptions of scriptural events and Eucharistic teachings in the scripture.³⁶³ Ward notes that Charles in his hymns let the Old Testament be interpreted by the New Testament. Every part of Scripture contains some aspect of the good news about the person of Christ, although such meaning was often hidden.³⁶⁴ One thinks of the exposition of Isaiah 63:1-6 in the *HLS* 17/1-4 as an example of this.

1.2. Tradition

Jones discovered that Wesley relied more on the entire Christian tradition, especially resources in practice than his stated concept of Scripture would seem to permit.³⁶⁵ There have been quite a number of studies regarding the historical sources Wesley used. Roman Catholic influences on Wesley were claimed by Piette (1937), Todd (1958) and in recent years by Frost (1980) and Berger (1991, 1995). Tuttle focused his research on Wesley and the Roman Catholic mystics (1969).³⁶⁶

According to reformers, Hilderbrandt (1951) concentrated his attention on Luther and Cell

³⁶² George A Lindbeck, *The Nature of Doctrine: Religion and Theology in a past Liberal Age* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1984), p. 117.

³⁶³ References to the Old Testament in the *HLS* include: Melchisedec 46/1.2; Job 145/4; Rod of Moses 27/2, the practice of Exodus 21:6 in 80/3. References to New Testament include: Lazarus 29, Christ as Second Adam 114/4).

³⁶⁴ Ward, 1992, p.14.

³⁶⁵ Jones, 1995, p. 218.

³⁶⁶ Lorna Khoo, *Wesleyan Eucharistic Spirituality* (ATF Press, 2005), pp. 115-116.

(1935) on Calvin. Cannon repudiated the claim of positive Calvinist influence (1946) and Outler dismissed the idea that John Wesley owed any major debts to the continental reformers.³⁶⁷ The 'High Church' aspect of Wesley was explored by Bowmer (1951). Some theologians who have considered Wesley's Anglican roots have investigated such as theologians: Allchin (1965), Borgen (1972/1986) and Selleck (1983). Those such as Towlson (1957) and Podmore (1998) studied the Moravian input, while Maldwyn Edwards, SG Dimond, Gordon Rupp³⁶⁸, Newton (1964) and Monk (1966) researched the puritan Heritage. Especially since the 80s³⁶⁹ there were interests in Wesley's Eastern sources flowered with Outler's suggestion that Wesley owed his idea of Christian perfection to Gregory of Nyssa and the other Cappadocians through the Macarian "*Homilies*".³⁷⁰ A number of doctoral dissertations soon emerged, looking into Wesley and the works of Gregory Nyssa,³⁷¹ John Chrysostom³⁷² and themes associated with the Wesley brothers and their Eastern sources. The latter work was carried out by Campbell (1984), Arthur C Meyers (1985) and Lee (1991). Therefore, Bondi could write articles on the possible links between both (1986; 1987³⁷³). All acknowledged the influence of the Eastern Fathers and most agreed that the influence was not as strong as earlier suspected.

1.2.1. The Early Church

³⁶⁷ Albert C Outler, *John Wesley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 119-120.

³⁶⁸ John A Newton, *Methodism and the Puritans* (18th Lecture for the Friends of Dr Williams Library). (London: Dr William Trust, 1964), p.3.

³⁶⁹ Cf. Ted A. Campbell, 'Wesleyan Quest for Ancient Roots: the 1980(5-16), in *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, (Publication of the Wesleyan Theological Society, Volume 32, Number 1 Spring, 1997).

³⁷⁰ Albert C Outler, *John Wesley*, pp. 9-10, footnote 9.

³⁷¹ Robert Sheffield Brightman, "Gregory of Nyssa and John Wesley in Theological Dialogue on the Christian Life" (Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1969)

³⁷² Kelly S McCormick, "John Wesley's Use of John Chrysostom on the Christian Life" (PhD thesis, Drew University, 1983)

³⁷³ Cf. some articles written by Robert C Bondi, 'The Role of the Holy Spirit from United Methodist Perspective', in *Greek Orthodox Theology Review* (Bookline MA : Greek Orthodox, 1986), Vol. 31. pp. 3-4; 'The Meeting of Oriental Orthodoxy and United Methodism'. In *Christ in East and West*. Edited by Paul Fries and Tiran Nersoyan (Macon: Mercer University, 1987). pp. 171-184; 'Christianity and Cultural Diversity: The Spirituality of Syriac-Speaking Christians' in *Christian Spirituality*, edited by Bernard McGinn & John Meyendorff (London: SCM Press, 1989), pp. 152-161.

Wesley was familiar with the fathers of the early Church and his knowledge of the early church was evident in his writings³⁷⁴ and his *Christian Library*³⁷⁵.

Green noted a few primary sources Wesley read including Justin Martyr's *First Apology*, Lactantius' *de Morte*, and Augustine's *Confessions*. Secondary sources include Johann Lorenz von Mosheim's *A Concise Ecclesiastical History* (which was read in its Latin version) and Cave's *Primitive Christianity: The religion of the Ancient Christians* (1672).³⁷⁶

It can be said that Wesley's interest in the resources from the early church was influenced by the Britain's historical background. As a result of the separation of the Anglican from the Catholic Churches during the reign of Henry VIII English church leaders were being interested in the pre-constantinian period in his era.

A particular aim of reading the early Christian resources for Wesley was to see their faithful lives in practice. For instance, Claude Fleury's *The manners of the Ancient Christians* and William Whiston's *Primitive Christianity Reviv'd* (1711) being two of them. The latter had the Apostolic Constitutions in English (2nd Volume) and Greek (3rd volume). Several devotional books Wesley referred frequent references to the primitive church's Eucharistic practices.³⁷⁷

In Wesley's era, there were many church leaders who concerned about how to practice the Eucharistic service and preparations. They endeavoured to recover the origins of Eucharistic

³⁷⁴ His letters to Dr Conyers Middleton and Bishop Smallbrooke about extraordinary gifts of the Spirit being operational during the early church. Cf. Conyers Middleton, *Letters from Rome* (London: Printed for W Innys, 1729); *A Free Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers which are Supposed to Have Subsisted in the Christian Church Through Several Successive Centuries* (London: Printed for R Manby and HS Cox, 1749); 'Introductory Discourse', In *Miscellaneous Tracts by Conyers Middleton* (London: Printed for Richard Manby and HS Cox, 1752).

³⁷⁵ It recommended the writings of John Lawrence Mosheim and Cave as well as the epistles of Clement (to the Corinthians), Polycarp (to the Philippians), Ignatius (to the Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Romans, Philadelphians, Smyrneans and to Polycarp), the *Homilies* ascribed to Macarius and records of two martyrdoms (Ignatius and Polycarp extracted from *the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna*)

³⁷⁶ Green, 1961, pp. 305-319.

³⁷⁷ Khoo, 2005, pp. 115-116. Cf. Robert Nelson's *A Companion* (1704) and Waterland's *A Review* (1734).

practice. One of them was the Nonjuror. The Wesley's association with the Nonjuror meant that there was more reason for them to affirm this heritage as seen in the *Apostolic Constitutions* used by Deacon and the revision of the liturgy and practices of the existing the *BCP* by Clayton and others. The *Constitutions*, thought to be a fourth century document, was later discovered to be post - Constantinian and Arian. Book VIII of the *Constitutions* contained the Clementine liturgy which has references to the Eucharist. As a result, Wesley was being influenced by this circumstance. For instance, Wesley used Deacon's 1734 *A Compleat Collection of Devotions* which was used on his voyage to Georgia.³⁷⁸ Wainwright noted its imprint on the *HLS*.³⁷⁹

Wesley's interest in the Eastern Church is of great concern. In 1739, on laying the foundation of the New Chapel, Bristol, Wesley asserted:

... the religion of the primitive church of the whole church in the purest ages ... It is clearly expressed, even in the small remains of Clements Romans, Ignatius, Polycarp, it is seen more at large in the writings of Tertullian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Cyprian and even in the 4th century, it was found in the works of Chrysostom, Basil, Ephrem Syrus and Macarius.³⁸⁰

All names mentioned in the sermon were from the Eastern Mediterranean theologians, except only Clement of Rome.³⁸¹ It seems significant that the great leaders of the Western church like Augustine, Jerome and Ambrose were not among those listed although Wesley

³⁷⁸ Ibid., p.7.

³⁷⁹ Geoffrey Wainwright, 'Our Elder Brethren Join', in *The Proceedings of the Charles Wesley Society*. Edited by ST Kimbrough (New Jersey: Charles Wesley Society, 1994, Volume I), pp.7-8.

³⁸⁰ Sermon 132.

³⁸¹ Cf. Ted A Campbell, *John Wesley and Christian Antiquity* (Kingswood Books 1991). The second century Apostolic Fathers were Clement, Ignatius of Antioch and Polycarp of Smyrna. The 3rd century Christians were Tertullian from Roman North Africa, Carthage, Origen from Alexandrian tradition, Clement of Alexandria, Cyprian from Roman North Africa, Carthage. The 4th century ones were John Chrysostom of Constantinople (educated at Antioch), Basil the Great of Palestine (Caesarea), Syrians Ephraem Syrus and Macarius (Wesley thought that Marcarius was one of the fourth century Egyptian monks)

did use them in the *Christian Library* and as ammunition to battle against people like Middleton. What Wesley received from those Western Fathers was perhaps imbibed less consciously than his Anglican heritage. The impact of Eastern Christianity on Wesley possibly came more directly through secondary sources (e.g. Cave) and through associations with the Nonjuror and their writings or practices.

The influence of the Eastern Church can be detected in the *HLS*.³⁸² Young noted that Wesley seemed to share some 'commonalties' with Macarius, namely, practical theology, Christian perfection as the goal for the Christian life, the emphasis on incarnation, the role of the Spirit as the generator of perfection and the emphasis on the love of God.³⁸³

There are seven areas in which one can trace the influence of the early church on the Wesley's Eucharistic theology.

The first influence relates to *the epiclesis*. Wesley included several *epiclesis*-style hymns in the *HLS*. Prayers for the descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Communicants and for the effects of the sacrament upon the people have been more common in most liturgies. Roman Catholic liturgical scholars have found early evidence of these forms of *epiclesis* but none before the fourth century for the *epiclesis* on the elements.³⁸⁴ Other scholars argued that the third century Apostolic Traditions of St Hippolytus included a petition for the descent of the Spirit upon the elements without specifying the nature of the change effected in them.³⁸⁵ Yet this *epiclesis* can be found in the Mozarabic and Gallican rites and was especially

³⁸² Cf. *HLS* 21 with Gregory of Nazianzus' Miracle of Crucified God, *HLS* 43 and 81 to the Apostolic Constitutions. Cf., Geoffrey Wainwright, 'Introduction', in *Hymns on the Lord's Supper* (facsimile Reprint of John and Charles Wesley's book), edited by ST Kimbrough, (New York: Charles Wesley Society, 1995), p. ix. - e.g. *HLS* 21 with Gregory of Nazianzus' Miracle of Crucified God, *HLS* 43 and 81 to the Apostolic Constitutions.

³⁸³ Carlton Young, *United Methodist Hymnal* (Nashville: United Methodist Publishing House, 1989), p. 8.

³⁸⁴ BJ Cooke, 'Epiclesis', In *the New Catholic Encyclopedia*. Edited by Maloney GA, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967), Volume V, p. 465.

³⁸⁵ Cross, 1974, p. 463.

predominate in the Byzantine rite as typified by the liturgies of St Basil and St Chrysostom.³⁸⁶ Wesley included a prayer for the Spirit's descent on the elements themselves in the *HLS*.³⁸⁷ Wesley was interested in Orthodox liturgies and was familiar with Collier's *Reasons for Restoring Some Prayers* (1717). This focus on the Eucharistic order of service denotes Wesley's specific contribution to British Methodist worship in the eighteenth century.

Second it is important to note that Wesley understands Christian perfection as *teleiosis* and sin as 'sickness'. Outler argued that the Eastern Fathers, such as the Cappadocians, Ephraem Syrus and pseudo-Macarius, were responsible for Wesley's theology of sanctification but subsequent studies suggested that there was little direct link. Wesley could have come to appreciate the Eastern Church's portrait of Christ as a doctor who offers medicine to release Christians from the power of sin³⁸⁸ through a variety of individuals. Johann Arndt's (1555 – 1621) *True Christianity*, which presented this therapeutic view³⁸⁹, was included in Wesley's *Christian Library*.³⁹⁰ Even if Wesley consistently removed passages referring to the Eastern concept of divinisation or deification – *theosis/apotheosis* – (and to the ascetic life) in his edition of the *Homilies*, it can be surmised that this reflected his caution regarding the use of those words (and to that brand of asceticism). Deification, though common in traditional Eastern theology can be subject to controversy in other settings.³⁹¹

It would not be right to suggest that Wesley was averse to the conception of *theosis* since his understanding of Christian perfection bore the marks of the Eastern Fathers. It is sufficient to note that the Fathers' emphasis on grace-filled, persevering growth in love (a more gradually progressive kind of perfection as compared to the Western linear 'completed

³⁸⁶ Cooke, 1967, V. p. 465f.

³⁸⁷ *HLS* 72.

³⁸⁸ Ewert H Cousins, 'The Humanity and the Passion of Christ' in *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, edited by Jill Raitt (London: SCM Press, 1989), p. 223f.

³⁸⁹ *Homilies of Macarius* (pseudo-Macarius).

³⁹⁰ Cf. Volume I and II.

³⁹¹ Campbell, 1991, p. 66.

perfection' understanding), is reflected in Wesley's teaching on Christian perfection.³⁹² Since this Christian perfection was the goal of the Eucharist this can be viewed as the third contribution of the early church to Wesleyan Eucharistic theology. The Eastern understanding of salvation from sin can be perceived more in a therapeutic³⁹³ than the juridical way more common in the Western theology. This could have opened the way for Wesley to see the communion as a 'converting' and hence 'healing' sacrament. Not all early church contributions came from the Eastern Church.

The third contribution, the practice of mixing water with wine in the chalice, was observed by the Nonjuror. Wesley followed this practice. The mixed chalice was actually first found in Justine Martyr's *First Apology* (chapter LXV), was also present in Irenaeus' *Against the Heresies* (V.1.2) and Cyprian's *Epistle 63: to Caecilius*. Cyprianic interpretation of the mixture of water and wine was that it represented the association of the faithful and their sins with the atoning sacrifice of Christ (Epistle 64, 13). Wainwright observed that Brevint accepted this interpretation while Wesley concurred with St Ambrose's interpretation (from *De Sacramentis*)³⁹⁴ that the wine, standing for the blood, represented justification; the water, sanctification.³⁹⁵ Hence even at the Table, Wesley was able to proclaim in a rather visible way of the Eucharist to contain the invisible doctrine of salvation which stressed the link between justification and sanctification.³⁹⁶ Justification is the instantaneous event of forgiveness of sins that happens at the moment of faith. On the contrast, sanctification is the new process whereby the justified becomes holy. This real change to holiness is additional to the relative change of justification. It is a process that begins at conversion and generally entails years of gradual change but happens substantially in an instantaneous gift

³⁹² Robert G Tuttle, Jr, *Mysticism in the Wesleyan Tradition* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Press, 1989), pp. 138-139.

³⁹³ Herald Lindstrom, 1950, p.41.

³⁹⁴ Geoffrey Wainwright, 'Introduction' in the *Hymns on the Lord's Supper* (facsimile Reprint of John and Charles Wesley's book). Edited by ST Kimbrough, jr. (New Jersey: Charles Wesley Society, 1995), p. X.

³⁹⁵ *HLS* 37 /3,4.

³⁹⁶ Sermon 43.

of God, often just before death. With these definitions in mind, let us consider the phases of Wesley's vision of the Christian life, from its inception to completion.³⁹⁷ In the sermon, *the Scripture way of Salvation*, Wesley said that salvation consists of 'going to heaven' as well as 'a present thing' on the earth. While Wesley used salvation a 'present thing'.³⁹⁸ It does not mean that salvation is given at once.³⁹⁹ Rather, the meaning of 'present thing' for salvation is "the entire work of God from the first dawning of grace in the soul, till it is consummated in glory".⁴⁰⁰ And it underlined that the sacrament is both a converting and a convincing ordinate.⁴⁰¹ In the Eucharistic service, one receives several benefits of Christ's passion.⁴⁰² However, Wesley did not include the mixed chalice practice in the Eucharist for the Methodists in America. It is not likely that this was because Wesley ceased believing that the theology of justification and sanctification could be symbolized as well as preached at the Table. It is more likely that as an older and wiser ex-missionary who had experienced his frontier congregation's confusion and disapproval when he tried to introduce practices like this in his earlier days that Wesley decided to dispense with the mixed-chalice practice, entrusting the message of justification and sanctification to be proclaimed primarily by his preachers.

The fourth issue relates to the practice of extempore prayer during the Eucharist. Until when Wesley apparently first confronted the issue of the means of grace he would not have had access to the Apostolic Tradition as it was not discovered by then. Wesley could have been convicted that the practice of extempore prayer in the communion was revealed in a few traditional resources from the early church. Justin Martyr's *First Apology* (Chapter LXVII) included the phrase: 'the president (of the Eucharist) offers prayers and thanksgivings according to his ability...' The extempore prayer was also expected from the bishop in *the*

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ Sermon 40.

⁴⁰⁰ Sermon 43.

⁴⁰¹ Journal 27/6/1740.

⁴⁰² Sermon 101.

Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus (Chapter 10:3). With this knowledge Wesleyan Eucharistic celebrations became a blend of the formal and the informal, the liturgical and the free, paralleling Wesley's teaching of using both the ordinary/instituted means of grace and the extraordinary/prudential means of grace. The first attests to the faithfulness and exchangeability of God and the second to the freedom of the Spirit to create, renew, revitalize.

Fifthly, Wesley's ideal of having communion weekly if not daily was rooted in the practice of the primitive church. This teaching could have been first imparted to him through a reading of Cave.⁴⁰³

The Sixth link is as Wainwright noted the similarity between the oblation theme found in *HLS* 118 and the manual acts of the celebrant during the institution narrative found in *the Apostolic Traditions of Hippolytus* as well as in the Alexandrian Liturgies of St Basil. These speak of the sacrifice of Christ as a 'memorial of Christ' shown to the Father (cf., *HLS* 116, 121, 123, 124, 125 and 126).⁴⁰⁴

Seventhly, the worldview of the early church with regards to supernatural happenings left an imprinted on Wesley.⁴⁰⁵ It can be argued that his worldview is similar to the one found in the Scriptures, but it is also possible to suggest that whilst Wesley might see the early church cosmology made a difference to their theology. For instance, it is noted that Wesley in a letter to Middleton displayed his evident store of patristic knowledge. In the letter, Wesley quoted a story by Cyprian in which the 'heathen Magistrate' gave a Christian infant food that has been offered to an idol. The child was 'seized with convulsions and vomited. This to Wesley was an example of the supernatural power inherent in the sacrament and that such

⁴⁰³ Campbell, 1991, p.96.

⁴⁰⁴ Geoffrey Wainwright, 'Ora Et Labora: Benedictines and Wesleyans at Prayer and at work' in *the Asbury Theological Journal* (Wilmore: Asbury Theological Seminary, Volume 50/51, 1995/6), p. 6.

⁴⁰⁵ JWJ to the Reverend Dr Conyers Middleton (4/1/1748-9).

‘surprising’ and ‘unexpected’ (unexpected by natural human logic) happening to take place.⁴⁰⁶ Wesley openly acknowledged that the ancient fathers in their works displayed ‘many mistakes... many ill-drawn conclusion’. Yet Wesley affirmed that he did

Exceedingly reverence them, as well as their writings, and esteem them very highly in love. I reverence them, because they were Christians, such Christians as are above (I Have) described. And I reverence their writings, because they describe true, genuine Christianity, and direct us to the strongest evidence of the Christian doctrine...⁴⁰⁷

There were some concepts and practices of the early church which Wesley did not use in his Eucharistic theology, e.g. the ‘offering of creation’ theme and the use of reserved consecrated sacraments in the homes of early Christians. Perhaps the first was laid aside because the teaching of it could take the spotlight away from the soteriological intent of the Eucharist. Perhaps the second was rejected because the Wesley understood that Christ was dynamically present at Eucharistic service itself. Wesley adopted and used only whatever he felt would revive the church of his day.⁴⁰⁸

Wesley’s respect for the traditions of the church was probably second only to his respect for Scripture. Tradition was not equal to scripture in authority but it had quite a high place. For instance, Wesley was aware of Nathaniel Marshall’s *Penitential Discipline of the Primitive Church* (1714), having read it in 1734.⁴⁰⁹ In Georgia, he tried to impose some of the preparation for communion and excommunication rules of the early church on his unsuspecting parishioners. As seen in par II, Chapter 3, 5, that even though the Methodists subsequently had strict rules to govern their societies, Wesley did not require the same degree of penitential preparation where reception of communion was concerned. He

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Campbell in his book *John Wesley and Christian Antiquity* made a case for John Wesley’s programmatic of Christian antiquity for reviving the church.

⁴⁰⁹ Campbell, 1991, p.30.

believed in communion as a 'converting ordinance'. With regard to excommunication, however, it must be remembered that Methodists were not often in any position to excommunicate their erring members since they were merely a group within a larger Anglican framework (unless of course, a Methodist happened to be the celebrant). This they did not fail to do later on, when they had their own communions, by using their 'class ticket' system (a parallel to the ticket could be found in the commentary letters of the early church mentioned in *Apostolic Constitutions* [Book II chapter LXVIII]). It should be noted, however that repentant members were restored to the communion Table. Again, this could be because of Wesley's view that communion itself is a means of healing (just as salvation is seen as healing in the Eastern tradition), not just a means of blessing where only the worthy can receive.

1.2.2. The Medieval church

Among Wesley's reading one finds that the middle Ages are less represented than the period of the primitive church and the years after the reformation. *The Christian library* had only a few writings from this period. The contributions to Eucharistic theology of those who were represented there could be described as 'devotional' (or 'discipleship building') and 'Christocentric'.

Wesley's study of a Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* enriched his devotional life, helping Wesley to develop a deep desire to cultivate inward holiness. He quoted the a Kempis several times in his sermons or letters.⁴¹⁰

Other people who impressed Wesley in the area of Christ-Centred devotion and discipleship were St Francis of Assisi (1181/1182 – October 3, 1226),⁴¹¹ St Bernard of Clairvaux (1090 –

⁴¹⁰ Cf. Sermons 55, 73, 79, 117 and JWL to Susana Wesley (18/6/1725). Charles Wesley recommended it to his daughter, Susan, Cf. *The Journal of The Rev Charles Wesley MA*, edited by Thomas Jackson (London: John Mason, 1849, Volumes I, II.), vol II p. p.278.

⁴¹¹ Journal 7/3/1736, Vol. I, P.179.

1153)'s *Meditations*,⁴¹² and St Bonaventure(1221 –15July 1274)⁴¹³. In Wesley's Eucharistic teaching Christ was the center. Ward pointed out that some scholars have noted the stress on the humanity of Christ and the importance of devotional literature during the middle Ages.⁴¹⁴

While the early church focused on the risen Christ and the Greek church on his pre-existent being, this interest on the human Jesus and the imitations this placed on him was the main thrust of the monastic spirituality of the Middle Ages.⁴¹⁵ The devotional works read by Wesley could have influenced the personal nature of Wesley's Eucharistic theology. Devotion was paid to the wounds of Christ as symbols of his love⁴¹⁶, seeing them as 'clefts on the rock'.⁴¹⁷ Christ's wounds became effective pleas not for pity but to the Father for the redemption of sinners.⁴¹⁸ In the hymns of Wesley, one sees the 'protestant crucifix'⁴¹⁹ with the suffering of Christ displayed in full view. Did Wesley receive this vision directly from those writers of the Middle Ages? Or could it be that the medieval input came more from people like Brevint and the other Anglican devotional writers of his day? Stevenson, for example, found Aquinas's three-fold scheme of 'memorial, food, and pledge' in Brevint's Christian Sacrament and Sacrifice and in the *HLS*.⁴²⁰ Bett thought that it seemed as if Wesley had been directly dependent on Aquinas and Adam of St Victor.⁴²¹ There is no doubt that the Anglican tradition – including the *BCP* – offered Wesley the riches of the church of the earlier ages.

1.2.3. Post – medieval period(15th-18th Century): Roman Catholic devotional writers and

⁴¹² Green, 1961, p. 312.

⁴¹³ JWL to the Author of *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared* (February/1749-50) and to a Member of the Society (6/7/1770).

⁴¹⁴ SLG Ward Bebedicta, *Signs and Wonders* (Hampshire: Variorum, 1992), p. 26.

⁴¹⁵ Cousins, 1989, p. 43.

⁴¹⁶ HA&Allchin, 1966, p. 43.

⁴¹⁷ Using both the symbolism of St Bernard and *HLS*. See Ward, 1992, p. 27.

⁴¹⁸ Bebedicta, 1992, p. 26.

⁴¹⁹ Rattenbury, 1948, p. 16.

⁴²⁰ Kenneth Stevenson, 'Anaphoral Offering: Some observations on Eastern Eucharistic Prayers'. Quoted by Rowan Williams in *Eucharistic Sacrifice: The roots of a Metapher*(Nottingham: Grove, 1984), p.101.

⁴²¹ Henry Bett, *The Hymns of Methodism* (London: CH Kelly, 1913), pp 39-70.

saints

Scholars see the end of the fifteenth century as the close of the medieval period. For the sake of the flow of this study, we will look at the period from the 16th to the 17th century and the influence of Roman Catholic devotional writers and saints on Wesley. There will be a separate section for those traditionally considered 'mystics' in the church.

Wesley was familiar with a number of Roman Catholic devotional writers and saints. Although he did not seem to have any acquaintance with St Teresa of Avila or St John of the Cross's works first-hand, he might have received aspects of their teachings via John of Avila, a mystic who was a trusted counselor and confessor to St Teresa and who had been associated with the early Jesuits in Spain.⁴²²

Wesley read Brother Lawrence (c. 1614 – 12 Feb 1691) some time before 1754. He also read Francis de Sales (21 Aug 1567 – 28 Dec 1622).⁴²³ Wesley knew about St Ignatius of Loyola(1491 – July 31, 1556)⁴²⁴, St Francis Xavier (7 April 1506 – 3 Dec 1552), St Robert Bellarmine(4 October 1542 – 17 September 1621)⁴²⁵, Blaise Pascal(19 June 1623 – 19 August 1662)⁴²⁶and Jansenist Pasquier Quesnel (14 July 1634 – 2 Dec 1719)⁴²⁷. Wesley was familiar with the martyrdom story of the monks from the order of de la Trappe.⁴²⁸

David Butler stressed the point that about five percent of *the Christian Library* is from their

⁴²² Cross, 1974, p. 745.

⁴²³ JWL to the Author of *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared* (February/1749-50) and Sermon 107. Cf., Richard P Heitzenrater, *Diary of an Oxford Methodist: Benjamin Ingram 1733-34*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1985), p. 267.

⁴²⁴ Journal 16/8/1742.

⁴²⁵ Sermon 20.

⁴²⁶ Sermon 84; JWW 17; Theresa Berger, 'Charles Wesley and Roman Catholicism'(205-222) in *Charles Wesley: Poet and Theologian*, edited by ST Kimbrogh, Jr, (Nashville: Kingswood,1991), p. 207.

⁴²⁷ JWW 17.

⁴²⁸ Journal 21/12/1747.

theology, spirituality and ministerial life. This work was written by or about Roman Catholics.

Butler comments:

The amount of Catholic literature recommended by Wesley is fairly small, but perhaps substantial for its time by the standards of the 18th century.⁴²⁹

While Wesley included life stories and writings of several Roman Catholics in his *Christian Library*, he also made it a point to edit out the distinctively Roman Catholic teachings found in these works, e.g. assistance of the saints, penance etc.⁴³⁰ Wesley was interested in resources of the Roman Catholics. Many of these resources dealt with teachings on and examples of committed discipleship and gave a glimpse of what holiness could be.

1.2.4. General Trends of Eucharistic theology in the 18th century.

At Wesley's time, there were five major influential theological perspectives regarding the Eucharist – Catholic Eucharistic teaching and the reformers: Luther, Zwingli, Calvin and Cranmer. Christian groups adhered to variations of these views. The Puritans and the theological successors of Cranmer among Anglicans influenced and stimulated Wesley to form his own theology and practice for the Eucharist.

1.2.4.1. Catholic

The focus of the Roman Catholic Eucharist is on Christ. The Roman Catholic Church teaches that the work of Christ on the Cross and in the Mass (the Eucharistic service) represent two different time-frames. There was the sacrifice on the cross at Calvary. There is the sacrifice of the mass where Christ is sacrificed anew every time he is offered up to the

⁴²⁹ David Butler, *Methodists and Papist* (London: DLT, 1995), p.157.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.156.

Father in a Mass. The Eucharist thus becomes a propitiatory sacrifice which could be offered on behalf of special intentions. The whole of Christ's life was seen to be offered up at the mass as an 'unbloody sacrifice'.⁴³¹

"Transubstantiation"⁴³² is the belief in the real corporeal presence of Christ, savior on the cross, in the consecrated bread and wine. Stookey in his book *Christ Feast with the Church* describes the concept of transubstantiation. Aristotelian metaphysics provided a philosophical basis for the view that all matter is understood to have a core identifying quality (substance) and a specific character (accident). A Table's 'accidents', for instance, include its colour, shape, make and size. These are observable distinctives. At the Eucharist, the 'accidents' of the bread and wine remain intact as normal bread and wine after the consecration. The 'substance' of the Eucharistic elements, however, has changed so that the body and blood of Christ is tangibly present when the communicant receives the consecrated elements.⁴³³

It is said that transubstantiation provides a clear physical and visible focus for prayer and devotion. Since masses are said daily, the Eucharist was the main means of formation for the majority. However, in reality, most Roman Catholics during the Middle Ages rarely received the Eucharist more than once a year. The decline in Eucharistic reception began from the fourth century⁴³⁴ and by the medieval period, Eucharistic piety was primarily 'a piety of presence' – seeing and worship' and not 'tasting and feeling'.⁴³⁵ The 'feast' quality and the participatory aspect of the sacrament had diminished.

⁴³¹ "Doctrine Concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass" in *the document of the Council of Trent*, Chapters 1-2, Edited by John Leith, *Creeds of the Churches*, (Atlanta: John Knox, 1973, pp. 437-439.).

⁴³² "Transubstantiation" became the official position of the Roman Catholic Church at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). The council of Trent (1545-1563) confirmed this position in the face of the Protestant reformation.

⁴³³ Laurence Hull Stookey, *Eucharist: Christ's Feast with the Church* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1993), pp. 136-138.

⁴³⁴ Robert Taft, 'Liturgy and Eucharist: East' in *Christian Spirituality*, edited by Jill Raitt (London: SCM Press, 1989, Volume II), p. 423.

⁴³⁵ James F McCue, 'Liturgy and Eucharist: West' (pp. 427-438) in *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, edited by Jill Raitt (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987), p.430.

Supplementing spiritual formation were guide books on Eucharistic devotion, the teachings of religious communities committed to such practices, hagiography, and the para-liturgical services of the church. Public processions linked with the *Corpus Christi* festival from a thirteenth century enabled people to publicly encounter the sacrament. This was supplemented by the exposition/ benediction of the Blessed Sacrament church originated in the fourteenth century.⁴³⁶ With the rise of Eucharistic adoration, Eucharistic spirituality moved beyond its communally orientated liturgical setting to become more individually orientated prayer spirituality. The communal aspect of the Eucharist was not lost. It continued to be seen as very powerful means of expressing the church's mission and ministry.⁴³⁷

1.2.4.1.1. Wesley's view

First, both Wesley and the Roman Catholic Church understand the corporate aspect of the sacrament enhanced by the intercession. Christ is the only intercessor in the theology of the Eucharist. Charles Wesley recorded that there was 'strong intercession for departed friends' during Eucharistic service,⁴³⁸ and experienced 'the spirit of intercession'⁴³⁹ However, Wesley did not believe that prayers at the Eucharist were not seen as 'tapping into the benefits of Christ's death' in an automatic way, with the church playing the role of intercessor. The church joins in his intercession but has no power to cash into any visible sign of his passion for another who might not be willing to receive it consciously.

Second, as heirs the reformation, Wesley clearly rejected the statement of transubstantiation of the Roman Catholic Church. In his comments on I Corinthians 10:17, 11:26-28(ENNT),

⁴³⁶ Cross, 1974, p.349 and pp.157-158.

⁴³⁷ Ibid., p. 476. In 1965, this view was reaffirmed in the encyclical *Mysterium Fidei*. Therefore the Eucharistic view of Transubstantiation in the Catholic Church has not changed to today since the 16th century.

⁴³⁸ CWJ 10/3/1745

⁴³⁹ CWJ 27/4/1746.

Wesley commented:

... it is not said, 'This is changed into my body' but, 'This is my body'; which, if it were to be taken literally, would rather prove the substance of the bread to be his body. But that they are not to be taken literally is manifest from the words of St Paul, who calls it bread, not only before, but likewise after, the consecration.⁴⁴⁰

Wesley accepted the transubstantiation - condemning Article 28 of the *Articles of Religion* found in the *BCP*.⁴⁴¹ The 'superstition' of the doctrine had 'consequences hurtful to piety'.⁴⁴² Although transubstantiation would not be the means by which Wesley would describe the presence of Christ at the sacrament, Wesley had a great sense of expectancy for the experience His presence at the Eucharistic Table.

Third, unlike Roman Catholic Eucharistic theology, Wesley could not understand the passive Eucharist as a means of prayer theology. Thus, active participation was required and non-communicating attendance was forbidden. Wesley believed that the Eucharistic spirituality should be solidly with the corporate element of the sacrament to individualistic devotions. It would be generated within the context of the liturgy and flow from there into the communicants' daily lives, use of the *HLS* and devotional texts like Brevint's possibly provided this means of deepening one's Eucharistic experience.

The influence of the Roman Catholic Church on Wesley Eucharistic theology can be explained as mostly a negative contribution. It means that Wesley's Eucharistic position was in some ways the outcome of his negative reactions to what they perceived to be Roman

⁴⁴⁰ JWW 16.

⁴⁴¹ *BCP*, 1662, p.706.

⁴⁴² JWW 18.

The main issues of contention can be summarised when asking the question: what were Wesley trying to protest? The answer would be essential tenets of faith: the Christ of the Scriptures as central in worship and as sole authority for Christian faith and Christ's centrality in the work of salvation which must not be shared by any other human agency.

Catholic errors in Eucharistic theology. The result was a Eucharistic position which had three key features: a solidly cross-centred Christology, a strong corporate-orientated outlook, and the firm union held regarding word and sacrament, faith and active participation.

The first would influence how Wesley perceived Christ at the Table, the second would be incorporated into the Wesley's' understanding of therapeutic formation and the third would help keep the balance of grace and its practical works in Wesley's Eucharistic theology.

1.2.4.2. Reformers: Luther, Zwingli and Calvin

The continental reformers had different views regarding the Eucharistic theology and its methods of celebration. After the Protestants opposed against the Roman Catholic Church, their theological views regarding the Eucharist differed widely.

1.2.4.2.1. Luther

Luther, the principal mover of the Protestant reformation, wanted to affirm the real corporeal presence of Christ in the consecrated elements. Luther saw the Eucharist as a means of union with Christ in the most intimate way: the communicant touches Christ physically, thus enabling the emergence of a spiritual faith within oneself.⁴⁴³

Luther did not accept the view of the Aristotelian philosophy which the Roman Catholic Church had adopted – the transubstantiation theory. Luther thought that it is possible for Christ, to be bodily present in something without having to change the substance of the object. He took a parallel from Christology which affirmed that the divine Christ shared the properties of his humanity and that his humanity shared those of his divinity (*communicatio idiomatum*: communication of properties), without diluting or changing the other. Thus at the

⁴⁴³ Christopher C Cocksworth, *Evangelical Eucharistic Thought in the Church of England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 21.

Eucharist, the real bodily corporeal presence of Christ can be and is present with, in, and under the consecrated elements (called consubstantiation).⁴⁴⁴

Luther believed that it is possible for the resurrected and ascended body of Christ to be at the right hand of the Father and also to be at the Eucharist because of his body's ubiquity (omnipresence).⁴⁴⁵ All that is asked of the believer is faith in Christ's work and the desire to be redeemed. The only sacrifice the believer offers at the Eucharist is that of prayer, praise and thanksgiving. Given the strong Roman Catholic background of 'indulgences for sale' against which Luther rebelled, one can understand why Luther was opposed to these. The focus is not on the individual's work (as intercession or adoration). The praise and self-offering come later, as a response to the gift received. In the Eucharist, Christ offers us with himself to the Father in heaven. Given Luther's relationship with God, one can ask the question: why is there need for the sacrament? Luther simply states that it is a matter of obedience. One's role is not to justify the decisions of God but to respond to them.⁴⁴⁶

1.2.4.2.2. Zwingli

A reformer in German-speaking Switzerland, Zwingli (1484-1531), focused his attention on the worshipping believer at the Eucharist. He wanted to maintain God's sovereignty rather than tie God down to ecclesial activities. Zwingli sought to stress that the Spirit does as he pleases. He thought that faith in Christ is absolutely essential in the Christian's relationship with God and would not allow for any thought which might lessen the role of faith.⁴⁴⁷ In a letter to Fridolin Lindauer (October 1524), Zwingli said that people had both an 'outward' and an 'inward' life. He understood that the sacraments are given for the instruction of the former who receives and understands through the senses. The 'inward' person lives by the light of faith and the experience of the 'outward' man confirms the truth of a person's spiritual truth.

⁴⁴⁴ Martin Luther, *Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (St Louis: Concordia, 1972), p.29, p.35.

⁴⁴⁵ Stookey, 1993, p.53.

⁴⁴⁶ Cocksworth, 1993, p.20.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., p.22.

Therefore, the Eucharist as outward means is not essential. Zwingli's meaning of the Eucharist is primarily communal as a memorial or fellowship meal with the Lord. Thus, Zwingli stated that Christ's presence is not unique to the Eucharist. Zwingli confirmed that the main contribution of the Eucharist was in stimulating faith in a Christian, encouraging the person to live the Christian life. Focusing on the subjective work of God at the Eucharist, his 'memorialistic' position displayed a desire to protect the sovereignty of God, the Freedom of the Spirit and the basis of the Christian status as faith in Christ. Therefore, the elements of the Eucharistic service merely remind us of Christ's work through his body, which is the sole means of salvation.⁴⁴⁸ Zwingli believed that Christ is already present in the believer's heart. It means that nothing objective happens to the Eucharistic elements. Jesus' word 'this is my body' to Zwingli is just a metaphor and 'Eating His Body' means simply 'to believe in Him'.⁴⁴⁹ Zwingli stated that Christ's body is an authentically human body and is now in heaven.⁴⁵⁰ Thus, he believed that the Eucharist is a sign of grace for faithful facilitation or the contemplation of faith, and a memorialistic action: one remembers Christ's death by a ritual enactment of Last Supper. The Eucharist is not a means of grace. To Zwingli the Eucharist is just one means among many for remaining Christian faith.⁴⁵¹

It is said that Zwingli understood the Eucharist is a good benefit for believers to have the opportunity to gather in mutual support of each other, and publicly reaffirm their faith. But he did not state the Eucharist as an essential means of grace for the growth of Christian faith. Zwingli's theology of the Eucharist can be a very rational thing, which has little place for 'supernatural' intervention in one's life. It is thus no doubt that the deists can easily adopt Zwingli's theology of the Eucharist.

⁴⁴⁸ Cocksworth, 1993, pp. 22-23.

⁴⁴⁹ GW Bromiley, 'An Introduction', in *On the Lord's Supper in Zwingli and Bullinger*, The Library of Christian Classics (London: SCM Press, Volume XXIV, 1953.) p. 205.

⁴⁵⁰ Cocksworth, 1993, p. 24.

⁴⁵¹ Louis Berkhof, *Introduction to systematic theology* (Baker Book House, 1979), pp. 357-368.

1.2.4.2.3. Calvin

The other remarkable reformer, John Calvin (1509-1564), dealt with the stern question of how the union between the believer and Christ takes place at the Eucharist. Unlike Zwingli, John Calvin had a different view that the Eucharist is a sacrament, a real means of grace. It is not merely a 'spiritual-mental' contact which builds up faith in the believer.⁴⁵² Calvin rejected the physicality of the body represented by the Roman Catholic and Luther's view. He did not believe that there are any changes in substance in the Eucharistic elements. The change is spiritual: the consecrated elements have spiritual virtue and effect. The 'power' ('virtus') and 'benefit' of the divine Christ is now on the Eucharist action. 'Virtus' is not something separate or different from the body of Christ. In this 'virtualist' understanding of the Eucharist, Christ is present and the effects of his presence are felt. There is no transfusion of corporeal body substance- but a transfusion of life.⁴⁵³ The believer, who receives the consecrated elements by faith, receives Christ spiritually (receptionist position). The unbeliever who partakes receives nothing but an empty, useless figure while incurring judgment for eating unworthily.

What makes the communion possible is the Holy Spirit, who descends and lifts the communicants up to heaven to partake of the life of Christ in a spiritual manner.⁴⁵⁴ Wallace considered Calvin 'inconsistent' in using the word 'ascend' and 'descend'. However, he said that Calvin would use 'descend' as long as it is clear that Christ's body is in heaven and the descent is seen to be spiritual and heavenly 'by His Spirit'.⁴⁵⁵ To Calvin, the body of Christ remains in heaven with all his human properties and divine properties intact.⁴⁵⁶ In union with Christ, the believer shares in Christ's one sacrifice and in his eternal priesthood before the

⁴⁵² Cocksworth, 1993, p.25.

⁴⁵³ Ronald SWallace, *Calvin's Doctrine of Word and Sacrament* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1953), pp. 200,202, 208.

⁴⁵⁴ *Institutes*, vol 4, 17:30; LCC 21, p. 1401

⁴⁵⁵ Wallace, 1953, pp.208-209.

⁴⁵⁶ *Institutes*, vol 4, 17:26.

Father's throne. The only sacrifice required of the communicant is thanksgiving.⁴⁵⁷

Calvin opposed the propitiatory concept of the Roman Catholics and nor did he believe that the sacrament is an 'application of the once-offered sacrifice'. The focus was to be on the giftedness of the sacrifice, not on the work to be done by the communicant. He reminded the communicant of the commemorative character of the Eucharist and that Christ's command is simply, to 'take'. The thanksgiving he felt that would be appropriate should be expressed not only in prayer and praise but also in faith and charity towards others.⁴⁵⁸

Calvin could not identify a distinct gift of the sacrament except to say vaguely that Christ reveals himself in a 'special way' there.⁴⁵⁹ Even if, as Calvin put it, the whole of Christ is present with his 'power' and 'benefit', while his Eucharistic spirituality did not appear to be as personal as the other two. This lack of physicality and a somewhat detached approach could affect the communicant's attitude towards the physical world, the self and God. Calvin's receptionism and predestinarianism put more onus on the communicant to ensure worthiness at the Table, even if at communion the believers seek the help of Christ in dealing with the still defective areas of life. It also puts the communicant in a communal setting where accountability is to and for the faith community.

1.2.4.2.4. Wesley's response

Luther's description of Christ's body as being the same as the one he had on earth and his ubiquity idea sounded absurd to Wesley.⁴⁶⁰

Wesley would not agree with Zwingli's position. For him, the Eucharist is a means of grace, a

⁴⁵⁷ Wallace, 1953, p. 215.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., pp.214-216.

⁴⁵⁹ Cocksworth, 1993, p.26.

⁴⁶⁰ Cf. *ENNT*, Matthew 26:26,28; *HLS* 63/2

sacrament. There is a place for memorial but it is not a 'mere memorial'.⁴⁶¹ The *HLS* shows how differently from Wesley believed in Christ's presence at the Table. While Zwingli's Eucharistic position was primarily rational, Wesley's position was more experiential.

Sanders stated that Wesley shared Calvin's idea of 'spiritual presence'.⁴⁶² Borgen had a same view that Wesley's Eucharistic experience is 'living presence'.⁴⁶³ Wesley agreed with Calvin's insistence that the change that takes place in the elements. It is not in substance but in spirit, although the Wesley's understanding of Christ's presence might be expressed in stronger and more personal terms than that of 'power' (*virtus*).

In Calvin's theology, it is important that the Holy Spirit lifts up the communicants to where Christ is, in heaven. In *HLS*, It is seen that while Wesley thought Christ in heaven as eternal priest and intercessor, the movement is 'sideways' rather than 'upwards', in that the 'veil' which blinds us is removed and we can see Calvary before us.⁴⁶⁴ However, as a predestinarian, Calvin believed that the true sacrament was only for the elect by God. It does not matter whoever attends the Eucharistic Table on the earth. It is completely opposite that Wesley invited all who needed to come for the all who can be saved.⁴⁶⁵ It was a converting ordinance. Jesus can invite whoever believes the love of God through the Cross of Jesus. Calvin was more concerned with the giftedness of the sacrifice. But Wesley was concerned with the response of the recipient.⁴⁶⁶ The *HLS* has a section on 'concerning the Sacrifice of our persons' which encouraged the self-offering of the communicant. Where Calvin could not find a specific role for the Eucharist, Wesley had one which was the primary

⁴⁶¹ Cf. *HLS*, 1745, p. 13.

⁴⁶² Paul S Sanders, 'Wesley's Eucharistic Faith and Practice' in *Anglican Theological Review* (Evanston, 1966), pp.6-7.

⁴⁶³ Ole E Borgen, *John Wesley on the Sacraments: A Theological Study* (Grand Rapids: Francis Asbury, 1986), p.69.

⁴⁶⁴ *HLS* 3,18,122.

⁴⁶⁵ Charles Wesley, *Songs for the Poor*, edited by ST Kimbrough, Jr (New York: General Board of Global Ministries, 1997), p.3, 13.

⁴⁶⁶ Beyond Wesley's position comparing to Calvin there was an strong influence from Armenianism

means of grace for growing into Christian perfection.

Wesley's understanding of Eucharistic theology appeared more warmly personal and confident than Calvin's with regard to the believer's relationship with Christ, the world and the self. Its focus on the objective grace of God freed the communicant from anxieties which predestinarianism and receptionism would engender.

It is tempting to consider how this could have influenced Wesley's Eucharistic thought. Wesley seemed to owe little to the reformers except to Luther's 'Justification by faith' teachings.⁴⁶⁷ Calvin was never referred to in John Wesley's discussion on the Eucharist and Outler himself debunked the possibility of Wesley owing the reformers any conscious theological debt. It is more likely that elements of Luther, Zwingli and Calvin's Eucharistic views filtered to Wesley through the Anglican heritage, cf. the *BCP*. Wesley's response was thus greatly coloured by their heritage's positive adaptations of and negative reactions to the reformers' positions.

Two stark differences characterize Wesley in relation to the Continental reformers: Wesley's Eucharistic theology seems to be more active than those held by the Continental reformers. This orientation contributed to Wesley's more robust concept of grace (i.e. in the face of the divine gift of love, the passivity of the human's respective role is balanced by the encouragement of human response in proactive works). In the Wesley's Eucharistic teaching, the Presence of Christ is presented as more personal and intimate, even surprisingly dynamic, than in the writings of reformers.

It would be possible at this juncture to look at Cranmer's Eucharistic position and subsequent developments in Eucharistic thought within the Church of England. However,

⁴⁶⁷ Cf. CWJ 24/5/1738; 11/6/1738; 6/6/1738; 17/5/1739.

this study is following not just a chronological scheme (early church -> medieval period -> reformation -> post-reformation) but also one which maintains denominational and sectarian categories (Roman Catholics, different positions presented by Luther, Zwingli and Calvin) as well. In line with this it will first look at three groups which influenced Wesley. Two of them are fellows of the Reformation - the Moravians and the Puritans. The third is the mystics – a mixed classification of those who can be described as such from both Roman Catholic and Protestant circles. After looking at these, it will explore the Eucharistic position within the Church of England from the time of Cranmer to Wesley's time.

1.2.4.3. Groups Wesley met

1.2.4.3.1. Moravians

On his return from Georgia, America in 1735, Wesley met the Moravians who were the descendants of the Bohemian Brethren who settled in the estate of Count Nikolaus Ludwig Graf Zinzendorf who had formed a religious community at Herrnhut under the leadership of Zinzendorf. Their missionary zeal led some of their people to journey to America. It was on the ship to America, that Wesley and his fellows encountered them. Wesley was impressed that the Moravians, including their children (unlike all those on that ship including himself) were not afraid of the storm and were praying and singing during that frightening situation.⁴⁶⁸

It was a Moravian, Peter Bohler, who challenged John and Charles Wesley with the gospel of grace.⁴⁶⁹ After Wesley returned to England, he joined a 'religious society' of Moravians that Bohler started at Fetter Lane in London.

During this time Bohler's teachings about the need for Christians to have absolute faith and his setting aside of the Eucharist as a means of grace in favour of waiting on the Lord for a direct divine encounter led to the separation of the Methodists from the English Moravians.

⁴⁶⁸ Journal 25/1/1736.

⁴⁶⁹ JWL to Dr. Coke, Mr Asbury, and Our Brethren in North America (10/9/1984).

It is perhaps difficult to see how Wesley is indebted to the Moravians in the area of Eucharistic theology. What we know is that Wesley parted company with the English Moravians primarily over the issues of the means of grace (to Wesley, these are the means by which God has chosen to create and to encourage the faith) and Christian perfection; (Wesley allowed for degrees of faith' and encouraged people to work actively towards Christian perfection, the Moravians believed that either one has absolute faith or one has none at all). It is possible that the intensity of Wesley's disagreement with the Moravians regarding the means of grace resulted in the strong emphasis Wesley placed upon the sacrament of the Eucharist.

Second, two of the key means, singing and testimonies, by which Wesley propagated his Eucharistic faith were possibly influenced from the Moravians. Towlson stated that the Moravians introduced Wesley to the practice of hymn singing.⁴⁷⁰ Some of the *HLS* hymns reflect the darker and more emotional Moravian style (some might call this the 'blood and wounds' school) that was similar to hymn styles found during the Middle Ages and in Saumur.⁴⁷¹ Wesley was familiar with how the Moravians used the testimonies of their members to reinforce their teaching. Their styles of testimonies influenced Wesley's thinking about the reception of the sacrament.

Third, Wesley visited to the Moravian center in Herrnhut, Germany. He was turned away from the Table because they considered him a *homo perturbatus*. It is thought that the Moravians had strict restrictions as to who could come to the Table. One can postulate how Wesley could have been affected by that episode in his life and how that could have tempered his Eucharistic theology and spirituality, especially with regards to divine grace and Eucharistic requirements.

Fourth, the Moravians gave great weight to personal faith and experience as justification (albeit under Scriptural authority) for beliefs and action provided Wesley with a basic

⁴⁷⁰ Clifford W Towlson, *Moravian and Methodist: relationships and influences in the eighteenth century* (Epworth Press, 1957).p.246.

⁴⁷¹ Gilbert Leslie Morris, *Imagery in the Hymns of Charles Wesley*, PhD dissertation, University of Arkansas, 1969),p. 382; Cf. *HLS* 20;85/3

evangelical foundation and heart-oriented faith.⁴⁷²

Finally, the Moravian use of the band system, love feast and the watching night service influenced Methodist practice.⁴⁷³ Taken together these factors can be said to have contributed to Wesley's Eucharistic spirituality.

1.2.4.3.2. Puritans

The word "Puritans"⁴⁷⁴ was a sect which applied it to themselves, and contended that they only composed the Church. These Puritans were not content to accept existing doctrines and systems. Instead they argued for freedom in the pursuit of truth. Their principles had been enunciated by many of the earliest Fathers, as well as the martyrs. It is said that most reformers argued that their work was but a logical attempt to realize scriptural ideals.

In particular, since the reformer Martin Luther, his followers spread throughout many areas in Britain. It might be said that an original seed of Puritanism in Britain was from William Tyndale (1494–1536) who was inspired by Martin Luther's German New Testament. He was not a puritan but his spirituality of reformation influenced the origins of puritan. Tyndale was the first person devoted to translate the Hebrew and Greek Bible into English although this was opposed by the Roman Catholic Church. When he came over to Hamburg in German to there were some people gathered around him. Later people gathered around him were called 'purists' because they had a vision of pure faith.⁴⁷⁵ But it happened in German.

⁴⁷² Colin Podmore, *The Moravian Church in England, 1728-1760* (Oxford University Press, 1998), p.42.

⁴⁷³ Towlson, 1957, p. 246-247.

⁴⁷⁴ The origins of the title, "Cathari" from Greek καθαροί (Katharoi), means "pure ones". A term related to the word "Katharsis" or Catharsis, meaning "purification." Cf., Sara Lipt, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible moralisée* (University of California Press, 1999), p. 89.

⁴⁷⁵ A.C. Partridge, *English Biblical Translation* (London: André Deutsch Limited, 1973), pp.38-39, 52-52.

After the separation between the Roman Catholics and England during the reign of King Henry VIII, the influence of Puritanism became more apparent and was deepened as a result of the cruelties of Queen Mary's reign (called Bloody Mary, 1553-1558). Mary tried to recover the catholic style of worship as early the period of her father Henry VIII. To achieve this she persecuted and killed the Protestants(leading reforming churchmen who had protestant minds, such as John Bradford, John Rogers, John Hooper, Hugh Latimer and Thomas Cranmer) and a number escaped to Europe. At that time the Puritans were influenced by European theologies: the Calvinists in Geneva, Zwingli, Bullinger, and Martin Bucer – mainly Calvinism. They were able to return to England after Elizabeth I (1558-1603), who supported the Protestants, became Queen. Queen Elizabeth I proclaimed the Thirty-nine Articles (1563) which became the criterion of belief in the Church of England. The Articles insisted that the authority of the Bible was more important than church tradition, in particular, that of Roman Catholicism.

The early Puritans thought that the Elizabethan ecclesiastical movement was too political, Catholic in its Eucharistic service, vestments and episcopal hierarchy. It was not scriptural as Calvinists in Europe. They were being strongly influenced by Calvinist's predestination theologically and scriptural warrant for all details of public worship: the Scriptures did not sanction the setting up of bishops and churches by the state. The purpose of the early Puritans such as Thomas Cartwright (1535 – 27 Dec 1603) was to purify the church (hence their name), not to separate from it. By 1567 a small group of lay rigorists was emerged secretly in London to worship after the pattern of the service of the church in Geneva.

As a result, they insisted on finding scriptural authority for all public worship practices. The English Protestants were influenced by European congregations focused on a Puritan style of preaching and rational empiricism. In practice, they rejected priestly gowns, kneeling before the Table and the transubstantiation of Roman Catholicism as well as the signing of

the Cross in the Baptism service as a superstition. They tried to reform the Church of England so that they stayed in the Church.⁴⁷⁶ Some supported the Presbyterian form of government and some Congregationalism, but most were against episcopacy.⁴⁷⁷ By the 1560's Puritanism was seen as an extreme form of English Protestantism. Later the influence of Puritanism on the Church of England increased.

As seen above, the grandparents of Wesley were nonconformists although his parents returned to the Church of England. The upbringing of Susanna Wesley in the home of her father Samuel Annesley included education in Puritan writings (including Baxter's book⁴⁷⁸), methodical keeping of timetables, regular times for meditation, self-examination and the keeping of the Sabbath. Susanna passed this heritage onto her children. Among the scanty list of Charles Wesley's readings, there is John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.⁴⁷⁹ Wesley read the Puritan's books and abridged, edited and published several of them in his *Christian Library*. Newton listed the Puritan works which influenced Wesley: Robert Bolton, John Preston, Richard Stibbes, Thomas Goodwin, Thomas Manton, Issac Ambrose, Nathanael Culverwell, John Owen, Joseph Allein, Samuel Rutherford, John Bunyan, Richard Baxter, John Flavel, Stephen Charnock, John Howe, and Samuel Annesley.⁴⁸⁰ Wesley also read Daniel Neal's *History of the Puritans* which he recommended as a textbook for Kingswood

⁴⁷⁶ Cf. representatives of Puritanism in 1560's were Thomas Cartwright (stressed Presbyterianism), Robert Browne (he had an inclination of separation from the Anglican, established an independent church in Norwich, later escaped to Netherlands), Lancelot Andrewes (a palace priest during Elizabeth I, James I and Charles I. By this time, the term, the High Church Party, was formed)

⁴⁷⁷ Cross, 1974, pp. 1146-1147.

⁴⁷⁸ Since the late 16th century the influence of Puritanism increased in the Church of England, For example, take the Westminster Abbey, On October 13, 1643, the Westminster Assembly was instructed by both Houses of Parliament to prepare a substitute for it. The members were convened every day except Saturday, from 9 until 12 o'clock, and each meeting was opened and closed with prayer. Seventy sessions were spent in composing 'The Directory for Public Worship', which was afterwards "passed as a whole by the Assembly." It was issued "for use throughout the three kingdoms," and proved eminently Scriptural, and considerate of religious scruples. Richard Baxter, too, while a member of this Assembly, issued his serious and earnest manual, "the Reformed Pastor," in order to incite ministers to holiness of life and consecration to their work.

Cf., Ira Bosely, *Independent Church of Westminster Abbey (1650-1826)* (London: the congregational Union of England and Wales, 1907. p.30.

⁴⁷⁹ CWJ 8/3/1744.

⁴⁸⁰ Newton, 1964, p.7.

students. The largest single tradition represented in the Christian Library edited by John Wesley was that of the Puritans. They influenced him in theology, pastoral care, family piety and ethics.⁴⁸¹ The covenant service of the Methodists had its roots in the work of puritans Joseph and Richard Allein.

Most Puritans (perhaps with the exception of John Goodwin) were Calvinists, and Wesley disagreed with them not only over their Calvinism but over their love for controversy⁴⁸² and their views of regarding Christian perfection. Unlike some of the Puritans, Methodists gave more weight to the place of feelings, especially the experience of inward assurance.⁴⁸³

The Puritans were not unanimous about their sacramental positions: while some Puritans 'sub-ordinated or even rejected the sacraments in favour of the word', e.g. the Quakers, the Pilgrim Fathers, Separatists, Ranters and Seekers,⁴⁸⁴ and some held Zwinglian views about the Eucharist as Richard Crakanthorpe (1567-1624).⁴⁸⁵ Many of them however followed Oliver Cromwell who saw the Eucharist as a real sacrament. This perspective focused not on the benefits of his passion but on the Christ whom one really received at the Table and who furthered one's union with him there.⁴⁸⁶ They held that something happened to the elements at consecration and included in their liturgy the sanctification of the elements and a prayer for the Spirit to work effectively in the lives of the communicant. To them, Cranmer's liturgy in the *BCP* did not have an adequate prayer of consecration.⁴⁸⁷

Puritans were concerned about the worthiness of reception because they sought to keep the faith and the sacrament pure by being a church of discipline and of the Spirit's presence. Before the service itself those intending to receive communion would be seated at a special

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., p. 9.

⁴⁸² JWW 19.

⁴⁸³ Henry D Rack, 'Early Methodist Experience: Some Prototypical Account' in *Occasional Paper 4* (second series), (Oxford: Religious Experience Research Centre, Westminster College, 1997) p. 3.

⁴⁸⁴ Cocksworth, 1993, p.56.

⁴⁸⁵ CW Dugmore, *Doctrine in England from Hooker to Waterland* (London: SPCK, 1942), p. 59.

⁴⁸⁶ Cocksworth, 1993, p.50.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., 1993, p. 48.

Table and worship included the examination of communicants.⁴⁸⁸ They practiced 'closed' communion. At the other end of the spectrum, there is the Puritan Stoddard who developed the idea that communion is a converting ordinance in response to the pastoral needs of baptized Christians unable to testify to the experience of grace required for admission to the sacrament.⁴⁸⁹ Selleck suggests that Wesley could have been aware of Stoddard or of the Erastian controversies which gave rise to this teaching.⁴⁹⁰

It can be admitted that Puritanism provided Wesley with an understanding of the value of maintaining strict devotional disciplines and dedicated lifestyle, thereby influencing his Eucharistic theology and the legacy of the covenant service enriched his Eucharistic passion. Moreover, the memory of Stoddard's experiment in grace could have contributed to Wesley's Eucharist as converting ordinance idea.

On the other hand Wesley read and abridged some books by the Pietists (e.g. Nicodemus by AH Francke). It was perhaps through his association with the Puritans that the Pietist concern for evangelical preaching, family worship, group Bible studies, and revival in spiritual life was filtered through to Wesley. The *ENNT* which Wesley published represented Wesley's adaptation and the plagiarising of Pietist Johannes Albercht Bengel's *Gnomon*.

1.2.4.3.3. Mystics

Berger provided a suggestion that Wesley influenced Charles Wesley and his fellows of Oxford Holy Club to read some books (Alfonso Rodriguez, Antoinette Bourignon, Jeanne Marie Guyon, Johannes Tauler, Francois Fenelon, Miguel de Molinos and Nicholas Malebranche). Wesley could also have read some of the Roman Catholic mystics included in his *Christian Library*.⁴⁹¹ The *Christian Library* contained extracts from Fenelon's two letters

⁴⁸⁸ Stevenson, 1994, p. 167.

⁴⁸⁹ E Brooks Holifield, *The Covenant Sealed: The Development of Puritan Sacramental Theology in On and New England 1570-1720*(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974),p. 200, 204.

⁴⁹⁰ Selleck, 1983, p.136.

⁴⁹¹ Berger, 1991, p. 207.

to the Duke of Burgundy, parts of Spanish Quietist Molinos' work – *spiritual Guide* and Bourignon's preface to her *A Treatise of Solid Virtue*. Both Guyon and Fenelon were suspected of 'quietism' in the tradition of the Roman Catholic Church. Wesley had reservations about Guyon's (spelt 'Guion' sometimes by him) reliance on inward inspirations and impressions rather than Scripture.⁴⁹² While he found Fenelon's *Telemachus* rather long-winded, though sensible⁴⁹³, he quoted his words on simplicity at least twice.⁴⁹⁴

There were two groups of mystics who had a great influence over Wesley's Eucharistic theology as well as practice. Firstly, there were those of the more passive tradition - the contemplatives who would travel on the *via negativa* road. These included Tauler, Molinos the author of *Theologia Germanica*, Malebranche, Bourignon, the Rhineland mystics and, in later years, Law, who was influenced by Jakob Boehme. These were more speculative and pantheistic in their philosophy, aiming for the deification of the soul, and had no appreciation of the use of the means of grace within the sacraments. They spoke of blind obedience to God and the need to go through the 'dark night of the soul'.⁴⁹⁵ Wesley was an avid reader of these mystics especially in the years prior to Aldersgate.⁴⁹⁶ In a letter to his brother Samuel, Wesley wrote:

I think the rock on which I had the nearest made shipwreck of the faith, was, the writings of the Mystics, under which term I comprehend all, and only those, who slight and means of grace.⁴⁹⁷

However, when Wesley published *the 1739 Hymns and Sacred Poems* he gave credit to the mystic writers in the preface of the book saying that some verses were written 'upon the

⁴⁹² Journal 5/6/1742; 27/8/1770.

⁴⁹³ Journal 7/1/1760.

⁴⁹⁴ JWL to Miss Bishop (12/6/1773) and to Miss Loxdale, Douglas, Isle of Man (10.6/1781).

⁴⁹⁵ Tuttle, 1989 p.108.

⁴⁹⁶ Cf. Tuttle, 1969.

⁴⁹⁷ Journal 23/11/1736.

scheme of the mystic divines’⁴⁹⁸ Although the mystic writers of this tradition were against the means of grace, Wesley received from them lessons in perseverance, disinterested love, and prayer.⁴⁹⁹ Some of these fruits could have surfaced in the *HLS* and in Wesley’s Eucharistic theology, e.g. obeying Christ by going for constant Eucharistic reception and disregarding one’s lack of warm feelings during reception could have come from Renelon’s idea of ‘disinterested/pure love’.

The other groups of mystics were mostly those from the counter-reformation. They were ascetical but not as contemplative or introverted as the first group. This group reflected strong moral, intellectual and activist characteristics. In particular, after the reformation, those were Thomas a Kempis, de Sales, Brother Lawrence, John of Avila and people like Gregory Lopez (1611-1691), a missionary to Mexico and Marquis Gaston Jean Baptiste de Renty (1611-1648), a French nobleman.

Wesley saw Lopez and de Renty as examples of holiness and models of Christian perfection like John Fletcher.⁵⁰⁰ Wesley admired Lopez, having read about him in 1735. He appreciated Lopez’s faithful life with God. After 1738, Wesley enjoyed reading Lopez’s story repeatedly. When he dined in luxury in Bath, Wesley considered what Lopez, a Spaniard who spent the last 34 years of his life as a hermit committed to a life of simplicity in Mexico, would have thought of it⁵⁰¹ and its relationship to the sacrament. Also Wesley found in de Renty (a saintly councilor at the French court) certain parallels to his own ministry and work. Both focused on outreach to the poor. They were both also involved in the formation and running of religious societies (de Renty had them in Paris and Toulouse). de Renty had the experience of the constant presence and fullness of the Holy Trinity, shared a simple lifestyle and stringent use of time. Wesley called them ‘real inward Christians’ even when he

⁴⁹⁸ JWW 20.

⁴⁹⁹ Tuttle, 1989, chapter 6.

⁵⁰⁰ Sermon 133.

⁵⁰¹ Journal 15/10/1755.

admitted that they had 'wrong opinions and (were) Romanists'.⁵⁰² Even Bourignon could not compare with them.⁵⁰³ Wesley dealt with their life stories in his *Christian Library*, removing the more Roman Catholic beliefs and practices of these men from his accounts. These active mystics provided Wesleyan Eucharistic theology with concrete human models of Eucharistic discipleship. Wesley's understanding of detachment from worldly goods even while having them (*HLS* 145/5) could have been inspired by de Renty's example. de Renty was also cautious about outward visions and was involved in experimental medical practices.⁵⁰⁴ The man 'had an incredible esteem for the Holy Eucharist' and communicated three to four times a week,⁵⁰⁵ a practice which Wesley observed as well. de Renty not only engaged in self-examination and other spiritual disciplines, but he also visited the poor, the sick and the imprisoned. In 1758, Wesley claimed that de Renty's *life* was his favourite book. He quoted most from it in his later life.⁵⁰⁶ Wilson described his feelings:

It is ironical that one of the greatest Protestant leaders of time should have turned to the Counter Reformation for his staple food.⁵⁰⁷

1.2.4.3.4. Anglican

Wesley felt that Archbishop Thomas Cranmer's⁵⁰⁸ Eucharistic theology was really

⁵⁰² Sermon 55.

⁵⁰³ JWL to the Reverend William Law (30/5/1738).

⁵⁰⁴ Eaman Duffy, 'Wesley and the Counter Reformation' in *Revival and Religion since 1700* (Essays for John Walsh), edited by Jane Garnett and Colin Matthew (London: Hambleton Press, 1993), pp. 1-19.

⁵⁰⁵ St Jure, 1795, p. 6.

⁵⁰⁶ Butler, 1995, p. 142-143. In St Jure's book, in particular, Chapter 8 Section II, St Jure's appeal for the poor inspired Wesley.

⁵⁰⁷ D Dunn Wilson, *The influence of Mysticism on John Wesley* (PhD Thesis, Leeds University, 1968), p. 152-172.

⁵⁰⁸ After the royal divorce proceedings against Catherine of Aragon would break down in 1529, Thomas Cranmer (1489-1665) consulted gratified of Henry VIII, and in 1532 Cranmer became Archbishop of Canterbury. At last, there was *the Act of Supremacy*, 3/11/1532). He was partly responsible for the 'Ten Articles and for the dissemination of the Bible in the Vernacular. After Henry's death (1547) Cranmer was one of the most influential counselors of Edward VI, and his ideas developed in an increasingly Protestant direction. He was largely responsible for the abolition of the old Church Ceremonies, for the destruction of images, for the *BCP* of 1549 and that of 1552, and for

‘receptionist’ stressing the faith of the communicant. Cranmer was an English Reformer who was concerned more with the relationship of the presence of Christ to the worthy believer than the consecrated elements.

Wesley was different from Calvin in the stress he placed on the faith in the communicant. For Calvin faith is merely the prerequisite, the Eucharist mediated Christ directly. The Eucharist cemented the communion between Christ and the believer. For Cranmer, however, the Eucharistic elements stimulated faith, giving the communicants the assurance God wants to give them. This faith in turn facilitates the communicants’ communion with God.⁵⁰⁹ How Christ is present was not Cranmer’s main concern. Content to leave it as a mystery, his *Articles of Religion* in the *BCP* can be interpreted as holding to a ‘virtual position’ (like Calvin’s) with regard to the question of the presence of Christ in the consecrated elements. It was understood that those who received Communion ‘worthily’ received Christ’s spiritual presence (a ‘receptionist position’). Those who receive the holy elements unworthily received nothing of value.⁵¹⁰

Cranmer’s Eucharistic spirituality was corporate and liturgical. Avoiding the temptation to specify the nature of the presence, he left the worshipper with a sense of mystery and expectation, awaiting a spiritual touch from the divine in the Eucharist. The worshipper, coming with limited faith, will receive that increase of faith which would make his communion with God possible. This in some ways took the sting out of the absolute necessity to be a ‘worthy’ communicant where unworthiness would bring damnation.

1.2.4.3.4.1. The *BCP* (1662)

Cranmer’s first *BCP* (1549) did not depart far from Anglicanism’s Roman Catholic roots

the Forty-Two Articles and Six Articles Act.

⁵⁰⁹ Cocksworth 1993, p. 29.

⁵¹⁰ Cf., *Articles of Religion* Number 25.

except avoiding the presentation of the mass as a sacrifice.⁵¹¹ However later, versions of the *BCP* showed greater influences from the reformed tradition (e.g. ones in 1552, 1559). After the death of Cranmer the Church of England developed his Eucharistic theology further. Wesley used the corporate and liturgical spirituality of the *BCP* for his own devotional prayer. In 1733, Wesley published *A Collection of Forms for Prayer of Every Day of the Week*. In this collection he adapted the Eucharistic prayer of confession for a devotional evening prayer.⁵¹²

Anti-Roman Catholic diatribes within the Articles of Religion ensured that their theology (and thus their spirituality) was solidly within the Protestant tradition. *BCP*'s Christocentric focus, the Biblical understanding of substitutionary atonement,⁵¹³ its 'embryonic' doctrine of sanctification and perfection (e.g. in the Collect for Purity of Heart), its idea that the Eucharist is a 'converting ordinance' (cf., *Article* 15) and its belief in the sacrament as a real means of grace influenced Wesley,⁵¹⁴ affecting his Eucharistic theology.

The *BCP* was the key source of Wesley's Eucharistic service. John admired the liturgy there for its simplicity and solemnity as compared to the Presbyterian style.⁵¹⁵ Wesley altered the Eucharistic liturgy for use by Methodists in America. Turner said that it might be considered a Puritan mind for America.⁵¹⁶ Some festivals during the Christian year, though not principal ones, were omitted in the prayer book. Very few significant changes were made. Many Psalms were also left out as 'being highly improper in the mouths of a Christian congregation', and this practice continued in Methodist hymnbooks, including *Hymns and Psalms* (1983).

⁵¹¹ Sykes, 1988, p.273-4.

⁵¹² Selleck, 1983, p. 182.

⁵¹³ Ibid., pp.214-226.

⁵¹⁴ Selleck, 1983, pp.291-3.

⁵¹⁵ Journal 16/6/1764.

⁵¹⁶ John Munsey Turner, *Modern Methodism in England 1932-1998*, (Epworth Press, 1998), p.50. Cf., no mention about Table location, liturgy in not requiring communicate, removing unnecessary words, simplifying the rules, giving place to three distinctive Methodist developments (ministers were called 'elders' not 'priest'; extemporary prayer at the end of the service), and long didactic confession exhortations were removed in societies).

With regard to the first editions of the service for America (1784) George⁵¹⁷ and Harmon⁵¹⁸ showed that these included instruction regarding the manual to accompany the consecration. Wesley omitted the Nicene Creed because his Apostles' Creed would have been said at morning prayer. White, in addition, said that Wesley left out one quotation from Tobit from the offertory sentences and replaced the long Nicene Creed with the simpler Apostles' Creed.⁵¹⁹ Selleck mentioned that the reason for the removal of the second post-communion prayer could be due to that it was not as 'high church and priestly' as the first: 'it sounded too much like Calvinism for Wesley's Arminian plate.'⁵²⁰ The *BCP's* Arminian orientation, the combination of 'free form' extemporary prayers and formal liturgy which affirmed the union of heart and head in the worship of God and the visual element (which affirmed the use of senses) provided by manual acts were all absorbed into Methodist Eucharistic theology.

In the *HLS*, some links with the *BCP* can be discerned. The *HLS* 105 has the echoes of *Sursum Corda* (= lift up your hearts), 163 of the *Gloria*, 20 of the *Agnus Dei* (= Lambs of God). *HLS* 158/4 corresponds with the sentiments of the post-communion prayer ('Here we offer and present unto Thee ourselves, our souls and bodies...').

The *BCP* influenced Wesley's Eucharistic practices. Although he did not insist that dissenters (or the Methodists in American) should kneel as the Anglicans would as they come for communion, the general Methodist practice was the same as that of the Anglicans. Wesley's preference was made clear when he administered to about two hundred communicants at Norwich, 'a considerable part of them were dissenters'. He left it up to each

⁵¹⁷ Raymond George, 'The Sunday Service'(pp.102-105) in *The Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, edited by John C Bowmer (Leicester: Alfred A Taber, Volume 40:4,1976), p.103; 105.

⁵¹⁸ Nolan B Harmon, 'John Wesley's Sunday Service and Its American Revisions' in *The Proceedings of The Wesley Historical Society* (Leicester: Alfred A Taber. Volume 5, 1974), p.140.

⁵¹⁹ White, 1991, pp. 125-139.

⁵²⁰ Selleck, 1983, pp. 386-7.

one to use whatever posture they wanted, knowing that if he had required them to kneel, ‘probably half would have sat’. The result was that on that occasion, all but one knelt for the sacrament.⁵²¹ Kneeling was an expression of humility and reverence. Cosin (1594-1672), an Anglican divine, said that kneeling expressed ‘inward reverence and devotion of our souls’.⁵²² Could these be reasons for John’s preference? It would certainly reflect the theme of grace in Wesley’s view to picture the communicant coming to the Father as one who is a much loved yet a needy sinner.

1.2.4.3.4.2. Development of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

After Cranmer’s death (1556), the Anglican Church developed further Cranmer’s Eucharistic theology. Stimulus for change was wrought by many reasons, both political and social.⁵²³ Cocksworth notes that there were three significant shifts. First, a more significant role was given to the consecrated elements. Second, the focus was more on the experience than the manner of the presence of Christ. Third, there was a deeper exposition regarding the sacrificial aspects of the Eucharist.⁵²⁴

Further discussion related to the role of the consecrated elements. The Prayer Book of 1559 reinforced the link between the presence of Christ and the consecrated elements. In 1573, the Church Commissioners ruled that there was a need for supplementary consecration.⁵²⁵ There was an understanding that something did happen to the elements. Both Jewel and Hooker went beyond Cranmer’s position. Cranmer had seen that the elements helped to create the faith which made communion with Christ possible. Now Jewel and Hooker saw

⁵²¹ Journal 18/3/1759.

⁵²² John Cosin, ‘Notes on the Book of Common Prayer: On the Office of the Holy Communion’ in *Library of Anglo Catholic Theology* (Oxford: John Henry & James Parker, Volume V: 345-6, 1855), pp. 345-6.

⁵²³ Dugmore, 1942, p. 2.

⁵²⁴ Cocksworth, 1993, p.34.

⁵²⁵ The 1573 Johnson Case revolved around the question on whether there was a need for supplementary consecration. Johnson interpreted Cranmer as saying it was unnecessary. The Church Commissioners disagreed with him. Cf., Cocksworth, 1993, p. 34-36.

that the consecrated elements are the means by which communion with Christ was made possible. While Cranmer was vague and diffident, some of his followers were more definite: they had no anxiety about putting 'The body of Christ is given...' in the *Article of Religion* 1563 and 1571. Hooker moved from Cranmer's Virtualism. He squarely stated:

... this bread hath in it more than the substance which our eyes behold... what these elements are in themselves it skilleth not, it is enough that to me, which take them they are the body and blood of Christ.⁵²⁶

Hooker added that

The elements are changed in use that they become causes instrumental upon the receipt whereof the participation of His body and blood ensueth.⁵²⁷

Some year later, on 1618 Christmas Day, Andrewes described the elements as vehicles of the Spirit, conveying Christ to people. Consecration reserves the elements for sacred use. There was no substantial change in them, therefore Christ was 'truly present and to be adored' in the sacrament. But that was not to be adored.⁵²⁸

Nevertheless, Anglican leaders were careful lest there would be misinterpretations regarding the consecrated elements. Jewel mentioned:

First, we put a difference between the sign and the thing itself that is signified. Secondly, that we seek Christ above in heaven, and imagine not Him to be bodily upon the earth. Thirdly, that the body of Christ it to be eaten by faith only, and none likewise.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁶ Richard Hooker, *The Works of that learned and judicious Divine Mr Richard Hooker*, edited Keble, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1836) Volume II, p. 462.

⁵²⁷ Ibid., p. 462.

⁵²⁸ Dugmore, 1942. p. 41.

⁵²⁹ John Jewel, 'A Treatise of the Sacraments'(445-479), in *The Works of John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury*, edited by John Ayre (Cambridge: The University Press,1847), p. 449.

... the sacrament bread is bread, it is not the body of Christ: the body of Christ is flesh, it is not bread. The bread is beneath: the body is above. The bread is on the table: the body is in heaven. The bread is in the mouth: the body in the heart. The bread feedeth the outward man: the body feedeth the inward man. Such a difference is there between the bread, which is a sacrament of the body, and the body of Christ itself.⁵³⁰

Adoration was not of the elements but of the presence that had joined itself to the elements. The Manchester Nonjuror as a group also shared this view. Anglican theologians John Johnson (1662-1725)⁵³¹ and Robert Nelson a non-juror (1662-1725), the author of the *Great Duty of Frequenting the Christian Sacrifice* (1707), were of that opinion.⁵³² They advocated frequent celebrations of communion and insisted that the spiritual (not corporeal as held by Roman Catholics) presence of Christ's body and blood in the elements was brought by the *epiclesis* prayer.⁵³³

The fear of the practice of the adoration of the consecrated elements had been expressed by Cosin. He denied that the consecrated elements had the nature of a sacrament when used outside of their original Eucharistic purpose appointed by God. He therefore stated that it would not be possible or right for the elements to be reserved and carried about.⁵³⁴ Christ was only present to those who communicated. As Patrick, Bishop of Ely, wrote in *The Christian Sacrifice*,

And this indeed the bread and wine are changed, not by abolishing their substance, but by turning them to this Divine Use (to which they are deputed by prayer according to Christ's institution) to render to us spiritual grace of the broken Body and Blood shed of our Saviour.⁵³⁵

⁵³⁰ Ibid., p.1121.

⁵³¹ John Johnson, *The Unbloody Sacrifice, and Altar, Unvail'd and Supported* (London: printed for Robert K naplock, 1714) pp.341-2.

⁵³² Nelson, 1909, p. 477.

⁵³³ Dugmore, 1942: pp.146-7, 153.

⁵³⁴ Ibid., p. 108.

⁵³⁵ Simon Patrick, 'An Extract of the Christian Sacrifice' (141-350), in a *Christian Library*, edited by

In this light, people like Jewel and Hooker spelt out the unique role of the Eucharist in the life of the church: Hooker believed that the Eucharist

Creates the righteousness of Christ in the moral, spiritual and bodily life of the individual as the believer is united more deeply and more really in the life of Christ by means of the elements through the activity of the Spirit.⁵³⁶

While the word taught the mind through hearing, the Eucharist marked the believer physically and was an effectual means, not just the seal of the word.⁵³⁷

Another noticeable shift was that the theologians who came after Cranmer developed more deeply the sacrificial aspects of the Eucharist. However they did not support the Roman Catholic understanding of propitiatory sacrifice: there was only one sacrifice-Christ's. There would be no repetition of his sacrifice. The only repetition was the memory, a commemoration of the sacrifice, brought to mind by the Holy Spirit. On the human level, this memory became for the believer an invitation to follow the example of Jesus' life. On the other hands, on the divine level, the Eucharist is as a commemoration of Jesus. Christ offered up as sacrificed (Taylor) and his past sacrifice effected the present (Cosin).⁵³⁸ Waterland thought of the sacrifice of the Eucharist as commemorative, participative⁵³⁹ and applicative.⁵⁴⁰ Patrick (1625-1707) described it as a commemoration, or 'shewing forth' in two

John Wesley (Bristol: E Farley, Volume 32, 1753).

⁵³⁶ Richard Hooker, *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (London: JM Dent, 1940), Volume II, pp. 234-236.

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

⁵³⁸ Cocksworth, 1993, p.44.

⁵³⁹ Waterland, 1737, pp. 475-8.

⁵⁴⁰ Waterland, 1738, p. 105.

'it is not barely or performing the conditions that finished our salvation but is our Lord's applying his merits to our performances that finishes all.'

John Johnson believed that Christ offered himself in the Eucharist by and with the elements. Waterland mused that he could have made a cause for Protestant priesthood being proper without opting for a material but by speaking of a spiritual sacrifice (Cf. Waterland, 1738: pp.53-5). Johnson

direction: Godward – where Christ's sacrifice is shown to the Father and manward – where it is shown to the world to tell of Christ's death for all.⁵⁴¹

Thus, the three developments brought about a corresponding shift in practice of Eucharistic services. First, Christ became more identified with the elements: e.g. the Puritans requiring 'valid' consecration, Hooker and Andrewes moving beyond a mixture of virtualism and saw the elements in an instrumental way. Waterland suggested that the elements could be seen to have a 'relative holiness' and Cosin believed in their special 'set apartness' because of Christ's spiritual presence. Johnson and the Nonjuror affirmed the permanent nature of the consecration. The stronger the link between Christ's presence and the elements led to a more positive affirmation of the material goodness of all creation because creatures would be seen as being capable of a deeper degree of sanctity and union with the divine.

Second, there was a movement was to focus on experience rather than the manner of Christ's presence. This shift signaled the deepening of a more intimate spirituality where head and heart, theology and spirituality are conjoined. Brevint's treatise *Christian Sacrament and Sacrifice* with its interflow of theological reflection and prayer is a good example of this. When stronger links are made between the consecrated elements and the presence of Christ, the importance of the believers' faith in relation to what happens to the elements is lessened.

Third, there was a shift in the stress placed on the 'applicative' sacrificial aspects of Eucharistic theology which meant that the focus was more on a grace-filled relationship with the divine and not so much on the response of the communicant. Yet it is noted that the official position of Anglican Eucharist was still receptionism and there still existed a great concern about adequate preparation and worthy reception of the sacrament. One senses

was condemned by the catholic. The accusation of the Roman Catholics that the Protestants do not have a proper priesthood because there was an absence of a material sacrifices. In 16th century the council of Trent, Catholic condemned this teaching (Session 13, 11 October 1551), canon IV. the Jesuits started claiming him as a supporter of the Roman cause as well (Waterland, 1737, p. 467-8). And it was reaffirmed by Pope Paul VI in his papal encyclical *Mysterium fidei* of 3 September 1965.

⁵⁴¹ Patrick, 1753, p. 161-2.

that there was a constant tension in Anglican Eucharistic theology between focusing on the divine work of grace and focusing on the human response.

1.2.4.3.4.3. The deists, latitudinarians, moralists and Nonjuror.

Four groups around that time in Anglicanism would also affect the Wesley's Eucharistic theology, namely the deists, the latitudinarians, the moralists and the Nonjuror.

(1) Deists

Deism advocated 'natural religion' and, as a result, 'minimised' the value of Biblical revelation.⁵⁴² It eroded the corporate understanding of the church as the body of Christ, focused on the beliefs shared by all religions and placed little demands on the people in terms of commitment to the faith. Sincerity, not dogma, was most important.⁵⁴³ Law and Waterland battled against them, the latter accusing them of being Socinians or Arians with regard to Christ's divinity.⁵⁴⁴

(2) Latitudinarians

Latitudinarianism developed from the Cambridge Platonists, the theological liberals of their day, seeking to give more latitude in the imposition of the laws of the Church of England on dissenters. Their preaching was dry. For instance, John Tillotson(1630-1894) was a good but unemotional preacher.⁵⁴⁵ His particular Latitudinarian theology and practice emphasised religious certainty and political stability.⁵⁴⁶ Loyal to the episcopacy and Anglican liturgy, they also wanted freedom to explore philosophy and theology in a scientific and reasonable way which were with the work of Newton and Locke. Religion had to do with conduct. Public

⁵⁴² Sykes, 1962, pp.60-2.

⁵⁴³ Selleck, 1983, pp. 43-4.

⁵⁴⁴ Selleck, 1983, pp.45-6.

⁵⁴⁵ Stevenson, 1994, p. 181.

⁵⁴⁶ Cf. Julius J. Kim, 'Archbishop John Tillotson and the 17th-Century Latitudinarian Defense of Christianity, Part I,' in *Torch Trinity Journal* 11 (2008), pp. 130-146.

worship was intended to adore God and to inculcate 'the duties of people living in society'.⁵⁴⁷

Therefore, Faith thus became intellectual and the inward operation of the Holy Spirit which might supersede reason was negated.⁵⁴⁸ Bishop Benjamin Hoadly (as reflection in his sermon *The nature of the Kingdom of Christ*) and Samuel Clarke (as represented in his book *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*) were proponents of these positions. Benjamin Hoadly who expressed Zwinglian sympathies published *Plain Account of the Nature and End of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper* (1735).

Latitudinarianism arose around the eighteenth century as a reaction against the years of religious intolerance, the fairly current experience of Puritan commonwealth rigidity and uncertainties regarding James II's Catholic orientation. Religious enthusiasm was discouraged in deism lest violent and intense passions were stirred up again to the detriment of the community. The result was that Anglicanism became more individual, cerebral, anthropocentric (rather than Christocentric) and chiefly practical (rather than mystical or spiritual) in orientation.

Wesley's Eucharistic theology, in contrast and possibly, in response to these two movements, sought to be personal though not individualistic, carefully maintaining the corporate element in the inner as well as the outer life of the believer. It spoke to both heart and head, to the emotions, not only to the intellect. It was very Christocentric and open to the Spirit's vibrant, surprising, life-changing initiatives in people's lives within and outside the Eucharistic services. Two other movements affected Wesley's understanding of Eucharistic theology in a more positive way.

(3) Moralists

Moralism or 'holy living' religion was represented by Taylor and Law. They stressed the need for conscious and serious discipleship, seeking to instill piety through disciplined prayer, worship, study of Scripture and conscientious, worthy reception of communion. The virtue of

⁵⁴⁷ Sykes, 1962, p. 257-8.

⁵⁴⁸ Selleck, 1983, p. 23-4.

moderation was exalted, and control of one's emotion even as one loves God, was significant.⁵⁴⁹

The moralists were fearful of the atmosphere of antinomianism which prevailed in their day. Their stress on human autonomy and responsibility led them to emphasise human effort (and in the case of the sacrament, worthy reception). Preparation manuals abounded. As a result, there seemed to be a shift in their theology from the Protestant 'justification by faith' to something more 'catholic'- sanctification by effort. Wesley would complain about the *Theological Germania* (though not an Anglican work but one highly recommended to him by Law, who stood in the moralist school): '(in it) I remember something of Christ our pattern, but nothing express of Christ our Atonement...'⁵⁵⁰

Justification by faith and salvation by grace sometimes became casualties of the moralist's teachings.⁵⁵¹ This was the core of Wesley's contention with Law whom he read, corresponded with and revered for years.⁵⁵² Charles Wesley who also read and said of Law, 'All I knew of religion was through him'⁵⁵³ also had problems with Law's theology.

Both Law and Taylor contributed to Wesley's single-minded and intense dedication to God. Likewise moralist Wesley was very Christocentric. However, Wesley reacted against Law's intensity and Taylor's strictures about worthiness of communicants.⁵⁵⁴ About it Wesley's

⁵⁴⁹ Jeremy Taylor, 'The Rule and Exercise of Holy Living' in *The Whole Works of the Right Rev Jeremy Taylor*, London: Henry G. Volume III: 158-9, 1844. p. 158-9.

⁵⁵⁰ JWL to Robert Carr Brackenbury (15/9/1790).

⁵⁵¹ Allison observed that Taylor was inconsistent: in his sermons and theological writings, he would put the onus on human effort almost to the point of saying it was the basis for God's acceptance. In Taylor's written prayers, however, 'forgiveness and pardon precede any necessity of obedience and in spite of disobedience and lack of virtue' (Allison 1966 pp. 88-9).

⁵⁵² Wesley met Law in 1732. Wesley read Law's books (Cf. Journal 1/2/1737). Law got drawn towards the teachings of quietist Joseph Behmen, which Wesley considered confusing, 'dark and indeterminate' and unscriptural about the nature of God (JWW 21). John Wesley turned against Law, calling him a mystic who denied justification by faith and the imputation of the righteousness of Christ (sermon 20). Yet he credited Law with sowing the seed of religious faith (Sermon 68) in the people of England. He indicated that there was some truth in the people's perception that Law was 'Methodism's parent' (Sermon 107). John was introduced to Taylor's *Rule and Exercises of Holy Living and Dying* by Sally Kirkham. Taylor inspired him to keep a concise record of his activities throughout the day, and use ejaculatory prayers and provided the materials for Wesley's rules (twelve of them) for helpers and for the united Societies.

⁵⁵³ CWL 17/10/1736; 18/10/1736.

⁵⁵⁴ It was remarkable within the Anglican circles of their time. However, some Puritans, Cf., Boxter, displayed willingness to learn from Roman Catholic spirituality while rejecting papist theology. In that

theology of the Eucharist was clearly shown in his hymns which stressed its joyous and world-transforming nature rather than a world-denying ethic. Instead of saying that those who receive communion without faith were like the 'dead' who have 'no portion' of the meat offered to them in the graveyard⁵⁵⁵, Wesley said that the Table was not 'dry breasts' and, to whoever comes, the sacrament has the potential to convert.

(4) Nonjuror

The Nonjuror was one of the influential groups in the Church of England. Since Wesley met the Nonjuror at Oxford. Wesley was vividly influenced by them. One of representatives was Thomas Deacon (2, Sep, 1697 – 16, Feb 1753) who an liturgical scholar.

The Nonjuror had very high views of the sacraments and the patristic roots of the church. Like the Moralists, they were very concerned about preparations for worthy communion and preparation manuals abound among them. The influence of the Nonjuror through publications and meeting them on Wesley's Eucharistic theology seemed to be in three territories. First, Nonjuror highlighted the centrality of the Eucharist for the Christian life. Second, they directed Wesley, perhaps more than other existing groups at that period (possibly because of their close association with Wesley brothers from the early Methodists, Oxford), more deeply to the primitive (including the Eastern) church for their understanding and practice of the Eucharist. Third, the Nonjuror's stress on the role of the Holy Spirit in the act of *epiclesis* upon the elements outstandingly influenced Wesley. Wesley stressed the role of the Holy Spirit in his thinking about the means of grace and human intention to experience the living God and worship.

However, the *HLS* does not apparently provide any evidence that Wesley went as far as the Nonjuror in relation to the permanency of the theme of Eucharistic oblation. Yet, Wainwright saw the idea of oblation reflected in *HLS* (cf. numbers 116,118,121,123,124,125,126) where Wesley spoke of the 'memorial of Christ' shown to the Father.⁵⁵⁶ It must be admitted that in

sense, what Wesley did was not unprecedented.

⁵⁵⁵ Taylor, 1667, p.143.

⁵⁵⁶ Geoffrey Wainwright, *Methodists in Dialog* (Nashville: Kingswood,1996), p.6.

this area Wesley probably inherited the emphasis more from the Nonjuror in general than from Brevint.

Tracing the possible sources of Wesley's Eucharistic theology even within the Anglican tradition can prove rather daunting. There are so many routes one can take and so many possible influences that one can explore. Samuel Wesley, John's father, was a member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK). Wesley was a member of this as well. The SPCK produced books and pamphlets for the spiritual nourishment of its members and encouraged the development of the interior life. They held frequent celebrations of the Eucharist.⁵⁵⁷ This could very well have been a formative discipline Wesley could not forget in later life. Wesley was a prolific reader. He could have assimilated the deep sense of love for Christ from the moralists and the Nonjuror (especially Ken) and some idea of Christian perfection from John Norris (Wesley described him as 'a lover and a witness of Christian perfection'⁵⁵⁸). As to practices regarding regularity of reception, he could easily have picked up from Cave's *Primitive Christianity* (1672), Nelson's *A Companion to Festivals and Fasts* (1704) and Waterland's *A Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharistas laid down in Scripture and Antiquity...* (1737) that the Eucharist was celebrated every day 'while the Spirit of Christianity was yet warm and vigorous' (cf. *HLS* 6), always at every public assembly⁵⁵⁹ and that Christians have an obligation to receive.⁵⁶⁰ Wesley probably adapted Nelson's argument against those who felt that frequency of reception would diminish reverence for the sacrament.⁵⁶¹

One can note that the *HLS* has certain similarities with a few other Anglican works. Patrick in *Christian Sacrifice* pointed to four things which 'make the true feast'. To him, they were:

⁵⁵⁷ Selleck .1983, p.145.

⁵⁵⁸ JWW 22.

⁵⁵⁹ Nelson, 1704,p. 466.

⁵⁶⁰ Waterland 1737, pp. 562-600.

⁵⁶¹ Cf. Nelson, 1704, pp.471-2.

‘select persons, choice place, choice time, choice provisions’⁵⁶². The *HLS* 80 proclaimed: ‘his presence makes the Feast’. Was hymn 80 inspired by Patrick’s writing? Could Wesley be commenting on the difference between what he considered to be the central focus of the Eucharist and that of the ‘preparation schools’- focusing on Christ’s presence and not on the preparations? Although the style of the hymns does not fundamentally change his theology, it does influence the reader or singer and the effective rendering of the message.⁵⁶³ The hymns Wesley sang were more personal, reflecting the warmth of the divine-human relationship.

Eucharistic influence on Wesley was primarily Anglican because of his family background, theological education and orientation. Wesley moved beyond Cranmer’s receptionist position and was affected by the three ‘shifts’ in Anglican Eucharistic theology. Wesley had the epiclesis – one for the congregation, one for the elements (*HLS* 72/7) - in his Eucharistic hymns (influenced no doubt by his non-juror friends and their knowledge of the Eastern Church). The inclusion of the epiclesis reflected his understanding of the link between the elements and Christ’s presence. It is noted that Wesley seemed to share Andrewes’ position that the Eucharistic elements are the ‘vehicles of the Spirit’ conveying Christ to people’ (with its underlining belief that consecration simply sets apart the elements for sacred use, cf., *HLS* 63/2) and Waterland’s imagery of the elements as the ‘deed of conveyance’ (cf., Johnson and Nelson). Yet Wesley would not go as far as the Nonjuror to say that the consecration was permanent and did not agree with the reservation of the elements: they were content to leave the issue of the presence of Christ at the Table as a sacred mystery (*HLS* 50/1-2, 57/4), they were strong in their understanding and use of sacrificial language

⁵⁶² Patrick, 1753, p.197.

⁵⁶³ Charles Wesley’s hymn imagery and texture, with its dramatic, vivid, ‘abrupt speech patterns’, ‘startling imageries’ through association of unusual objects and a sense of ‘religious melancholy’(compared with Issac Watts’ more spacious and optimistic hymns), have been linked to George Herbert’s influence. Watts was Calvinist and non-conformist and had a deep sense of the sovereignty of God. Wesley Brothers and Herbert shared the same Anglican Armenian heritage, with great concern for the interior spiritual life(Morris,1969, p. 375-383)

for the sacrament. In possible reaction to the deists and latitudinarians and in line with Brevint's style, Wesley's Eucharistic theology reflected an intimacy and warmth, wedding both the heart and the head. While they inherited from the SPCK, the moralist and the Nonjuror a strong emphasis on discipline and inspirational formation, Wesley was strong on themes regarding sacrifice and oblation which in turn put the spotlight more on God's grace than on the place of human response and worthiness.

As seen above a commitment to reason influenced Wesley's thinking, alongside his reading of the sources, revealing his unique theological concerns. The key elements of Wesley's theology are all drawn from books or his personal experience. His encounter with significant people and the theological trends of his time shaped Wesley's Eucharistic theology and ministry.

There are a number of different impressions about Wesley's theological background. The traditions stretching through church history, in particular, the first five centuries as well as the reformation and post-reformation era represented a key source. These resources cut across sectarian and theological barriers. The breadth of Wesley's exposure to Eucharistic teachings from many traditions reveals not only his depth of knowledge but also his openness and capacity for gleaning the riches from a variety of resources. Second, the influence of the Roman Catholic Church on Wesley was great. Wesley read Roman Catholic books from the medieval and the post-medieval era, in particular, the mystics of the active school. Considering the era Wesley was living in, where there existed deep suspicion of Roman Catholicism, the input Wesley chose to receive from there was quite remarkable. It must be noted that the influence was not Eucharistic in nature but had to do primarily with issues about holy living and models of serious spirituality, affecting indirectly the nature of Wesley's Eucharistic theology.

Third, Wesley strongly recognised the importance of Eucharistic worship is centered on a tradition - the Catholic. It is from the early church and Roman Catholic resources, right

though to the continental reformers (in particular, John Calvin, but not Zwingli) and their Anglican heritage (in particular, the Nonjuror).

2. Theology

Chapman recognises that *Hymns of the Lord's Supper* (HLS, 1745) manifests the most valuable Eucharistic theology.⁵⁶⁴ Wesley used the Hymns which can carry on the doctrines of Christian faith. The *HLS* contains the theology of Eucharist.

2.1. The encounter

Wesley's theology of the Eucharist clearly revealed his opposition to the ideas of the reformer, Zwingli, particularly from 1745. Wesley believed that the Eucharist is firstly an encounter. This encounter can be experienced. It not only touches the five senses (seeing, touching, hearing, feeling and tasting) but can radically affect the lives of those who have experienced it.

Rattenbury aptly described the *HLS* as 'a Protestant Crucifix' made of 'carved words'.⁵⁶⁵ Wesley invited his followers to be 'transported'⁵⁶⁶ to see Christ's 'tremendous agony'⁵⁶⁷, suffering and death at the Table.⁵⁶⁸ Wesley presented the crucifixion and called upon believers to use all their senses not only in remembering it but also in experiencing it.⁵⁶⁹ The readers or singers of the *HLS* are invited in the sacrament to see⁵⁷⁰, touch⁵⁷¹, feel,⁵⁷² hear⁵⁷³,

⁵⁶⁴ Chapman, 2006, p. 65.

⁵⁶⁵ Rattenbury, 1948, p.16.

⁵⁶⁶ *HLS* 94/1.

⁵⁶⁷ *HLS* 6/1.

⁵⁶⁸ *HLS* 8/2; 1/1; 3/2-3; 11/1; 20/1-4; 100/1.

⁵⁶⁹ *HLS* 77/2,3; 39/1; 3/3; 4/3.

⁵⁷⁰ *HLS* 132/2; 140/2.

⁵⁷¹ *HLS* 39/1; 131/2,3.

⁵⁷² *HLS* 73/4.

⁵⁷³ *HLS* 4/3,4; 7/3.

and taste⁵⁷⁴. They are thus led 'sensibly' to stimulate believers.⁵⁷⁵ Wesley used the hymns as a guide to scriptural teaching.⁵⁷⁶

The early Methodists experienced the reality of encountering Christ in the Eucharistic celebration. Something happened during communion according to Charles Wesley's journal.⁵⁷⁷ There were visions: Mrs Planche stated that she had 'marvellous views' of the Lord's suffering and death for her during the sacrament.⁵⁷⁸ Margaret Austin mentioned, 'I saw Christ lay with his open side and I thought I could see his heart bleeding for me'.⁵⁷⁹ Some of these were apparently seen in faith inspired imagination rather than in a trance-like state.⁵⁸⁰

The encounter with Jesus at the Table was revealed in some surprising ways. One of these was the auditory aspect of the Eucharistic celebration. In 1782 Wesley meeting at Macclesfield was an example:

We administered the sacrament to about thirteen hundred persons. While we were administering, I heard a low, soft, solemn sound, just like that of an Aelian harp. It continued five or six minutes, and so affected many, that they could not refrain from tears. It then gradually died and away.⁵⁸¹

Another surprising experience is recorded in Charles' journal:

Yesterday, Miss Betsy plainly informed me, that, after her last receiving the sacrament, she

⁵⁷⁴ HLS 53/2; 158/3; 33/2.

⁵⁷⁵ HLS 30/4.

⁵⁷⁶ Lawson, John, "A thousand Tongues" *The Wesley Hymns as a guide to scriptural teaching*, lectured 7th November 1987, edited by Wesley Historical Society Bristol Branch, No 50.

⁵⁷⁷ Cf. CWJ 9/9/1741, 8/5/1744, 17/9/1748.

⁵⁷⁸ AM 1791, p. 420.

⁵⁷⁹ Rack, 1997, pp. 9-10.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁸¹ Journal 29/3/1782

had heard a voice, 'go thy way, thy sins are forgiven thee' and was filled thereby with joy unspeakable.⁵⁸²

In addition, there were records that physical healings were known at the Table. It is shown in a Charles' journal.⁵⁸³ The Hymns made reference to the healing power of the sacrament.⁵⁸⁴ There was expectation of deliverance from the powers of evil as well:

Write our protection in Thy blood, And bid the hellish fiend pass by.⁵⁸⁵

These sensory experiences did not leave the communicants unaffected. Wesley noted that many were 'wounded and many healed' at the Table.⁵⁸⁶ Intense temptation and inner struggles which for some always took place before the Eucharist were resolved.⁵⁸⁷ There were other effects of the service on individuals: the *HLS* proclaimed that one's past, present and future are touched by the encounters.

The negative aspects of one's past are dealt with at the Table. The Lord's Supper brought to some a strong conviction of sin. Richard Jeffs, who was determined to renounce the Methodists and join the Quakers ventured to receive communion. Wesley wrote: '... he had no longer received, than he dropped down, and cried with a loud voice, "I have sinned; I have sinned against God".⁵⁸⁸ Wesley promised that when we grieve over our sins ⁵⁸⁹we receive pardon, grace, and assurance.⁵⁹⁰ Our pain and suffering are handed over to Christ, and 'harboured in his breast'⁵⁹¹; we see the power of sin subdued⁵⁹²; Testimonies affirmed the hymnic claims. There were many accounts of those who were freed from the burden of

⁵⁸² CWJ 9/6/1738

⁵⁸³ CWJ 21/2/1735

⁵⁸⁴ *HLS* 58/1; 20/3;25/3.

⁵⁸⁵ *HLS* 41/2.

⁵⁸⁶ Journal 20/7/1777.

⁵⁸⁷ *AM* 1779, pp. 301-2 Cf., Journal 6/3/1760: Elizabeth Longmore's testimony.

⁵⁸⁸ Journal 4/11/1744.

⁵⁸⁹ *HLS* 6/1-2; 120/2.

⁵⁹⁰ *HLS* 28/3; 38/3; 164/1-3.

⁵⁹¹ *HLS* 93/4.

⁵⁹² *HLS* 160/3 Cf 33/4; 37/2.

sin. Wesley reported his mother's experience:

(About) two or three weeks ago, while my son Hall was pronouncing those words, in delivering the cup to me, 'The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee'; the words struck through my heart, and I knew God for Christ's sake had forgiven me all sins⁵⁹³

There were those who felt the assurance of God's acceptance. Thomas Rennant, one of the Methodist preachers, wrote: '... enabled to believe that Christ died for me, and was filled with peace in the Holy Ghost'⁵⁹⁴ Ruth Hall stated: 'I then found an uncommon degree of assurance, that I should see eternal life...'⁵⁹⁵ Howell Harris was drawn to the sacrament when he was dead in sin, and received forgiveness there; afterwards the love of God was 'shed abroad in his heart by the Holy Ghost, then given him'⁵⁹⁶.

The present is affected too. Charles described one of the present fruits of the encounter as having one's eyes opened.⁵⁹⁷ Conversions took place at the Eucharist. Wesley appealed to his followers' experiences when he wrote to the Church in 1740. He said:

For many now present know, the very beginning of your conversion to God (perhaps in some the first deep conviction) was wrought at the Lord's Supper.⁵⁹⁸

At Avon and Malmsbury, he noted that one 'was still full of her first love, which she had received at the Lord's Table'⁵⁹⁹. It is supposed that John Wesley was convinced that the Eucharist was a source of divine power even while he was struggling with Quietism in the Fetter Lane society. That is why John and Charles Wesley could express the importance of

⁵⁹³ Journal 3/9/1739.

⁵⁹⁴ AM 1779, pp.471-3.

⁵⁹⁵ AM 1781, pp.663-4.

⁵⁹⁶ CWJ 6/5/1740.

⁵⁹⁷ CWJ 14/5/1740.

⁵⁹⁸ Journal 27/6/1740.

⁵⁹⁹ Journal 2/6/1740.

the means of grace of the Eucharist, and could separate from the Fatter Lane with their some followers.

According to an interesting study of the lives of 555 early British Methodists Albin reported that 4.5% of these people were converted while preparing for or receiving communion. This is quite a significant percentage considering that in most of the cases studied, interestingly, conversions took place when the individual was alone (42.8%) rather than when the person took part in a public preaching service (27.7%).⁶⁰⁰ Other present graces include the gifts of strength, comfort, love, peace⁶⁰¹ nourishing us⁶⁰², cheering our hearts⁶⁰³, meeting our every need as it seems best to him.⁶⁰⁴

Not only did the Wesley's teach that one's past and present are affected by the encounter at the Table, they taught that one's future is marked by it as well. The 'tokens of His favour' we receive⁶⁰⁵ serve as 'pledges'⁶⁰⁶ and 'earnest'⁶⁰⁷ of that glory/rest/bliss that is to come. 'Sealed and stamped'⁶⁰⁸ as his, with his love put in our souls⁶⁰⁹, we can live a life of holiness⁶¹⁰ now, as Christ lives in us⁶¹¹. There is a new hunger for God: what Charles called the 'drawing of the Father or preventing grace'⁶¹² which safeguards one from falling into sin. This rekindles a deep desire for the restoration of the *Imago Dei* within oneself⁶¹³ and a growing love of God and neighbour.⁶¹⁴

In addition, Methodist testimonies bear witness to this teaching of Wesley:

⁶⁰⁰ Runyon, 1985, p. 275. This study followed resources as the *AM* and other early sources.

⁶⁰¹ CWJ 20/10/1736; 5/6/1738; 6/6/1738; 11/2/1739; 28/9/1740, 20/4/1746; 7/8/1748.

⁶⁰² HLS 4/2, 9/1-2, 30/6.

⁶⁰³ HLS 30/5.

⁶⁰⁴ HLS 76/4.

⁶⁰⁵ HLS 162/1.

⁶⁰⁶ HLS 53/2, 100/2-3, 107/1.

⁶⁰⁷ HLS 103/1-2, 158/2.

⁶⁰⁸ HLS 30/3

⁶⁰⁹ HLS 31/3, Cf., HLS 166/4 'impregnated with life Divine'.

⁶¹⁰ HLS 31/2.

⁶¹¹ HLS 164/7; 30/6, 8.

⁶¹² CWJ 6/4/1740, Cf., HLS 28/1; 94/2; 113/1.

⁶¹³ HLS 32/2.

⁶¹⁴ CWJ 1/8/1736.

I found my heart drawn out in desire after God... I now loved to read the Bible, and to pray to God, according to the faint light I had⁶¹⁵

This was echoed by two others.

... and for some weeks after, the things of eternity were the very delight of my soul. O! how precious was the word of God? How did I love private prayer? To converse about the ways of God, was my meat and my drink, by night and by day, thus I went on for several months, drawn by love, and allured by the goodness of God my Saviour⁶¹⁶

after this I walked in the loving fear of the Lord, and in the comforts of the Holy Ghost. I found great sweetness in the word; yea, and in all the other means of grace...⁶¹⁷

One's view of life and the world was changed; Thomas Oliver's was that all of his life was tied in with the sacrament:

In eating and drinking, I took care to do it to the glory of God; to this end I received my daily food, nearly in the same manner as I did the body and blood of Christ.⁶¹⁸

The Lord's Supper was seen as a time for fresh re-commitment to God. Thomas Rankin wrote that 'I ... fully resolved to dedicate myself to God. In order thereto, I purposed to partake of the Lord's Supper...'.⁶¹⁹ Margaret Baxter recognized the reception of Holy Communion as a point of the renewing of her baptismal covenant.⁶²⁰ Methodists at the Eucharistic Table made specific changes in lifestyle including the seeking of solitude:

⁶¹⁵ AM 1779, p.241.

⁶¹⁶ AM 1779, p.183.

⁶¹⁷ AM 1779, pp.471-3.

⁶¹⁸ AM 1779, p.87.

⁶¹⁹ AM 1779, p.183.

⁶²⁰ AM 1784, p. 196.

I broke off from all my companions, and retired to read on the Lord's day; sometimes into my chamber, at other times into the field; but very frequently into the church-yard, near which my father lived, I have spent, among the graves, two or three hours at a time, sometimes reading, and sometimes praying, until my mind seemed transported in tasting the powers of the world to come.⁶²¹

To discovering a call to active service:

Meantime I found an earnest desire to live to the glory of God, together with much love to precious souls. And hence I found a desire of preaching...⁶²²

The encounter with Christ in the Eucharist was not seen simply as an experience which is individualistic in orientation. Charles Wesley reported on several occasions that the Eucharist brought upon the communicants 'the spirit of prayer' and 'the spirit of intercession'⁶²³ and on one occasion 'strong intercession for departed friends'.⁶²⁴ Once he recorded that at the Table, they received 'the Spirit of prayer for my dear desolate mother, the Church of England'.⁶²⁵

The Eucharist as taught and experienced by Wesley was not refuge for those who wanted to avoid emotional involvement. Wesley wrote 'I found much of the power of God in preaching, but far more at the Lord's Table'. The Table was a dynamic encounter which could be experienced and which changed his life and his followers.

2.2. The presence of Christ

⁶²¹ AM 1790, p. 11. Cf. AM 1799, pp. 301-2.

⁶²² AM 1779, p. 471-3.

⁶²³ CWJ 24/2/1745; 27/4/1746; 23/6/1745.

⁶²⁴ CWJ 10/3/1745.

⁶²⁵ CWL 3.

As seen above, although their views differed the reformers Luther, Zwingli and Calvin saw the Eucharist as a sacrament. Wesley did not agree with Zwingli who stated that communion is as an act of memory, remembering Christ and his death.⁶²⁶ The remembrance facilitates the contemplation of faith, illustrating and confirming the word that had been proclaimed. Yet Wesley pointed out in his writing that Zwingli called it 'a bare Memorial only'.⁶²⁷ Zwingli's view of communion emphasized the human participants at the Table. Zwingli's early writings indicated an interest in the role of communion in strengthening the faith of weak believers and assuring them of the forgiveness of their sins. His later writing stressed the place of the Table as the location where believers publicly make a stand of loyalty to God. The holy Table was an oath or pledge of allegiance.⁶²⁸ This statement depended on the subjective aspect of the sacrament. This was due to Zwingli's concern that the sovereignty of God and the freedom of the Spirit would be compromised or curtailed by talk of Christ's actual presence being bound in some way to the sacrament. Zwingli's view may have stimulated Wesley's own thinking as seen in the *HLS*. In its preface Wesley replaced Brevint's milder description of it.⁶²⁹ Wesley then followed Brevint, stating his position in marked contrast to the Zwingli view:

I want and seek my Saviour Himself, and I haste to his Sacrament for the same Purpose, that
SS Peter and John hasted to his Sepulcher, because I hope to find Him there...⁶³⁰

The Communion to Wesley was not a 'dead external sign'.⁶³¹ Even Cranmer's receptionist understanding that communion creates the faith that helps to get the real act of communing

⁶²⁶ Journal 13/11/1763.

⁶²⁷ *HLS*. p.13.

⁶²⁸ Stephens, 1986, pp.180-192.

⁶²⁹ Brevint, 1673, p.44.

⁶³⁰ *HLS*, p. 13.

⁶³¹ *HLS* 55/1.

with Christ done fell short of Wesley's Eucharistic faith.⁶³² Rather Wesley stressed the reality of a dynamic encounter with the presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

Both Luther and Calvin would agree with Wesley's view on the reality of the encounter in the Eucharist. Luther and Calvin believed in the presence of Christ at the Eucharist. Nevertheless, Wesley differed from Luther and Calvin on the nature of that presence. Luther argued that the Christ who comes to us in the Eucharist is the same one who came in the incarnation: Christ's body in the Eucharist is the same as the one he had on earth. Luther argued using the concepts of *communicatio idiomatum* (communion of properties) and ubiquity (Omnipresence).⁶³³ Wesley, commenting on Matthew 26: 26, 28, dismissed the argument: '... it is grossly absurd to suppose that Christ speaks of what he held in his hands as his real, natural body...' ⁶³⁴ He rejected the Lutheran idea of ubiquity. In *HLS* it is seen:

We need not now go up to heaven, To bring the long-sought Saviour down; Thou art to all already given, Thou dost even now thy banquet crown: To every faithful soul appear, And slow Thy real presence here!⁶³⁵

Borgen agreed:

(John) Wesley rejects the Lutheran views of consubstantiation and ubiquity, which require a communicating of the properties of divine nature to the human. Christ is only omnipresent according to his divine nature; therefore, in order to communicate the benefits of his human life and death to us, these must be, as it were, at the disposal of Christ's omnipresent God⁶³⁶

⁶³² Cranmer's position has as its focus the recipient rather than the elements. Faith of the recipient is the main ingredient. The sacrament has no intrinsic value if faith is absent. (Cocksworth, 1993, p.23.)

⁶³³ Stookey, 1993, p. 53.

⁶³⁴ *ENNT*.

⁶³⁵ *HLS* 116/5.

⁶³⁶ Borgen, 1986, p.65.

Calvin possibly sensed that Luther's argument may confuse the two natures of Christ. Trying to safeguard the integrity of the person of Christ, Calvin taught that the body of Christ is in heaven and it retains all its human properties.⁶³⁷ The attributes of divinity cannot destroy its true fleshy nature⁶³⁸ what believers receive at the Table is the whole Christ (*totus Christus*). Calvin was careful to affirm that 'the sacraments direct our faith to the whole, not to a part of Christ'⁶³⁹ and not that whole humanity which was the whole Christ.⁶⁴⁰ Yet Calvin speaks often of the presence in terms of 'virtus' or power of Christ given to believers.⁶⁴¹ This sometimes gives the impression that he is talking about a quasi-physical matter linked to Christ⁶⁴² rather than the person of Christ himself.

Calvin also had reasons for not wanting to talk about the localisation of the presence: he was aware of the abuses of transubstantiation and he held a very strong view of the transcendence of God. He thus insisted there is no descent of the body of Christ, no 'transfusion of substance'.⁶⁴³ Using the spatial language of his time, Calvin taught that the whole Christ is received by the believer at communion through the Spirit of Christ, who lifts the believer up to heaven to partake of his life:

Christ, then, is absent from us in respect of His body, but dwelling in us by His Spirit, he raises us to heaven to Himself, transfusing into us the vivifying vigour of His flesh just as the rays of the sun invigorate us by vital warmth.⁶⁴⁴

The bond of connection is therefore the spirit of Christ, who unites us to him and is a kind of

⁶³⁷ *Institutes*, vol 4, 17:26.

⁶³⁸ *Institutes*, vol 4, 17:24.

⁶³⁹ *Institutes*, vol 3, 11:9.

⁶⁴⁰ Wallace, 1953, p. 200.

⁶⁴¹ Gerrish, 1993, p.178 footnote 70.

⁶⁴² *Ibid.*, p.177.

⁶⁴³ John Calvin, *CR*, Vol 9, p.70; 9, p.521. Commentary on 1 Corinthians 11:24, *CR* 49, p.487, Cf., *CR* 16, p. 430.

⁶⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol 9, p. 33.

channel by which everything which Christ has and is, is derived to us⁶⁴⁵

Mindful of the same concerns as Calvin, Wesley was able, without resorting to Calvin's solutions, to affirm the integrity of Christ (without giving the impression of separating the natures, as Luther did) and the danger of locating his presence in a way which downplayed divine transcendence. He did it in two ways: by the use of Trinitarian images and terms and by the utilising of time-transcending rather than spatial language. Unlike Calvin, Wesley was also able to avoid the impression that the encounter was with a power or some quasi-physical matter by the use of personal pronouns and focusing on the person of Christ. Brevint's Treatise, attached to the *HLS*, which contains very moving personal prayers to the Christ, sets the tone for the *HLS*.

Central to Wesley's Eucharistic hymns is the theme of the God-man as sacrifice. More of this will be mentioned later but we note here that Christ's humanity is acknowledged clearly here. He is called 'the second Adam'⁶⁴⁶, who is the Saviour⁶⁴⁷. He saves by being the paschal/spotless Lamb.⁶⁴⁸ he is described as the 'Traveller with ferments dipped in blood'⁶⁴⁹, the 'Martyr'⁶⁵⁰, the 'Victim Divine'⁶⁵¹ 'the Great High Priest'⁶⁵², the Victim⁶⁵³ 'the Wheat that is cut down'⁶⁵⁴ the 'Redeemer of mankind'⁶⁵⁵, 'Author of salvation'⁶⁵⁶, 'the World's Atonement'⁶⁵⁷.

To Wesley, the presence we encounter is the same Christ who walked in Palestine but yet it

⁶⁴⁵ *Institutes*, vol4, 17:12.

⁶⁴⁶ *HLS* 32/2

⁶⁴⁷ *HLS* 116/5.

⁶⁴⁸ *HLS* 4/1, 35/1, 116/1, 117/1, 2/3, 116/1.

⁶⁴⁹ *HLS* 17/1.

⁶⁵⁰ *HLS* 2/4.

⁶⁵¹ *HLS* 116/1.

⁶⁵² *HLS* 129/1. Cf. the new Melchizedek and Aaron *HLS* 46/2.

⁶⁵³ *HLS* 5/1, 131/1.

⁶⁵⁴ *HLS* 2/1.

⁶⁵⁵ *HLS* 12/1.

⁶⁵⁶ *HLS* 28/1.

⁶⁵⁷ *HLS* 163/5.

is a Christ seen from post-resurrection perspective, i.e. seen through eyes of those who share the historic Christian faith. The boundaries of time are suspended as our human past is seen in the light of the relationship between the Father and the Son. This also extends Christology in another relationship between the Son and the Spirit. The consideration of which body of Christ is present which so concerned Luther fades to insignificance.

Staples noted that Wesley stresses the presence of Christ more in terms of his divinity.⁶⁵⁸ There could be some truth in Staples' observation, if looking at the references to Christ which have been traditionally reserved for the Father, e.g. 'the Ancient of Days',⁶⁵⁹ the 'author of Life Divine',⁶⁶⁰ the 'God of angels'.⁶⁶¹ Christ is presented as the Old Testament God who saves his people, the 'Rod of Moses',⁶⁶² the 'Rock of Israel'.⁶⁶³ Christ's divine nature is implied very strongly in terms like 'the God of angels dies',⁶⁶⁴ 'expiring God',⁶⁶⁵ 'Jehovah dies'.⁶⁶⁶ Perhaps this was the Wesley's reaction against the threat of Arian theology present during their time. There is, however, no confusion of the relationship between the Son and the Father. As the Son who is one with the Father, Christ reveals the Father by being the 'beam of the Eternal Beam',⁶⁶⁷ who shows forth the heart of the Divine, the 'eternal Lover',⁶⁶⁸ 'the Great invisible',⁶⁶⁹ whose nature is love⁶⁷⁰, who suffers and dies for us⁶⁷¹. It is interesting to see that Wesley, when he edited Brevint's book, often omitted the 'Jesus', preferring to address him as 'Christ'.⁶⁷²

⁶⁵⁸ Staples, 1991, p.227.

⁶⁵⁹ *HLS* 156/1.

⁶⁶⁰ *HLS* 40/1.

⁶⁶¹ *HLS* 21/6.

⁶⁶² *HLS* 27/2.

⁶⁶³ *HLS* 27/1.

⁶⁶⁴ *HLS* 21/6.

⁶⁶⁵ *HLS* 6/1.

⁶⁶⁶ *HLS* 21/6.

⁶⁶⁷ *HLS* 164/7.

⁶⁶⁸ *HLS* 162/3.

⁶⁶⁹ *HLS* 116/3.

⁶⁷⁰ *HLS* 30/3-4; 29/4

⁶⁷¹ *HLS* 1/2;21/2; 9/5;12/1.

⁶⁷² Wesley, 1745, p.4, 21; Brevint 1673, p. 12, 72.

Kishkovsky lamented that there was a 'certain absence of the resurrection' in Wesley's Eucharistic hymns. He stated that there was only one direct reference with 'some indirect allusions' to the event, so the cross and crucifixion appeared seemingly in and of itself as the point of entry to joy, salvation and life.⁶⁷³ While I would agree with his observation that Wesley had a tendency to focus on the cross, the number of occasions at which the resurrection was referred or alluded to in Wesley's Eucharistic hymns are more substantial than his remarks seem to indicate. The allusions were about his 'rising'⁶⁷⁴ and he was given certain titles, e.g. 'Triumphant Head/Lamb'⁶⁷⁵, 'Strong Triumphant Traveller'⁶⁷⁶, and 'Lord of Life'⁶⁷⁷. The resurrection story from John's gospel finds a place in *HLS* 29/1 and 55/2-3. Christ is seen as the firstborn or 'Elder Brother'⁶⁷⁸ of humankind. In both Brevint's and John Wesley's edition of his text, the resurrection is mentioned at least once⁶⁷⁹.

Christ's cosmic significance in his role as Intercessor⁶⁸⁰ in heaven⁶⁸¹ is clearly addressed in his title as the 'Advocate'⁶⁸² who pleads our cause before the Father with his bleeding hands, his body 'torn and rent.'⁶⁸³ Christ offers Himself perpetually to the Father⁶⁸⁴ even as the Eucharist is being celebrated. He pleads for pardon for us⁶⁸⁵ whose names are graven on his hands, whose lives are set among the precious stones on 'his loving breast'⁶⁸⁶. His wounds are effective intercessors for us:

Five bleeding wounds He bears,

⁶⁷³ Kishkovsky, 1995, p.81.

⁶⁷⁴ *HLS* 4/4; 19.

⁶⁷⁵ *HLS* 128/3; 21/9.

⁶⁷⁶ *HLS* 17/1.

⁶⁷⁷ *HLS* 34/1.

⁶⁷⁸ *HLS* 132/3.

⁶⁷⁹ Brevint 1673, p.81, Wesley 1745, p.24.

⁶⁸⁰ *HLS* 140/2; 117/2.

⁶⁸¹ *HLS* 118/1.

⁶⁸² *HLS* 163/6.

⁶⁸³ *HLS* 118/2-3.

⁶⁸⁴ *HLS* 117/1.

⁶⁸⁵ *HLS* 120/4.

⁶⁸⁶ *HLS* 117/2. using the image of Aaron's ephod

Received on Calvary;
They pour effectual prayers,
They strongly speak for me:
Forgive him, O forgive! They cry,
Nor let that ransomed sinner die!⁶⁸⁷

The time-transcending Christ, presented against a Trinitarian background, breaks out of the theological time-bound categories applied to the Eucharist. The meal is not simply a past-orientated memorial gathering. It is not just a present space-located action as seen in ideas about transubstantiation or Calvin's 'upward lifting' of communicants to heaven. The question of the permanence of the consecration which would tie the presence of Christ to the elements becomes less of an issue in the light. The dynamism of the experience can scarcely be contained and frozen in time. Wesley therefore rejected the Roman Catholic and the non-juror inclination to see the consecration as permanent⁶⁸⁸. There could, therefore, be no reservation of the sacrament. In John Wesley's edition of Cave's work for the *Christian Library*, it is significant that he omitted passages in Cave which indicated the early church's practice of reserving the sacrament and that reserved consecrated elements were carried about by the early Christians⁶⁸⁹.

While the Wesley's proved to be true sons of the reformation and of the Anglican Church of their parents, they moved beyond Cranmer's receptionist position. They did not state that the efficacy of the sacrament depended totally upon the inner state of the communicant. As seen in chapter 3, while some basic faith is called for, the sacrament can bestow faith where adequate faith is lacking. The influence of the non-juror friends discerned in Wesley's inclusion of an *epiclesis* on the elements in their Eucharistic hymn collection⁶⁹⁰ affirmed that

⁶⁸⁷ *Collection* 194/3. Cf. verses 1-2.

⁶⁸⁸ Cf. *HLS* 63/2.

⁶⁸⁹ Campbell, 1991, p.96.

⁶⁹⁰ Cf. *HLS* 72.

there was some form of objective consecration. Bowmer also believed that Wesley was not a pure receptionist in his theology, In that he did not deny absolutely a presence apart from the believer⁶⁹¹, but he felt that Wesley did not give a very satisfactory account of the relationship between the real presence and the elements. It is wondered that if this latter point was a bit unfair. The position of Lancelot Andrewes, in his Christmas Day sermon of 1618, could be a close description of Wesley's view:

Christ in sacrament is not altogether unlike Christ in the manger. Eucharistic elements are both outward symbols but 'yet in them find we Christ' the sacrament consists of a heavenly and an earthly part, the *res sacramenti* and the *signum sacramenti*, the *signum* and the *signatum*, which are united together without either being' evacuate or turned into the eucharist is truly present and to be adored (*res sacramenti*), but we are not to adore the sacrament. The elements are the vehicle of the spirit, the proper carriage to convey it.⁶⁹²

Similarly, Waterland's illustration citing St Bernard, comparing the sacraments with instruments of investiture and describing the elements as a deed of conveyance which conveys the estate even though it is not the estate,⁶⁹³ might be the position with which Wesley found himself in sympathy. The underlining belief is that consecration simply sets apart the elements for sacred use. The sacrament is an 'enfleshed' physical contact point or instrument of the word. Certainly, this finds an echo in their *epiclesis*, pleading that the elements might be' ... fit channels to convey Thy love'⁶⁹⁴. More of this will be discussed in a section on the role of the Spirit.

The Eucharist guides communicants to stand before the crucifixion as in a 'time-warp'.

⁶⁹¹ Bowmer, 1951, p. 176

⁶⁹² Dugmore, 1942, p. 41.

⁶⁹³ Waterland, 1738, pp.146-147.

⁶⁹⁴ HLS 71/2.

Wesley would prefer the Biblical imagery of looking behind the 'veil'⁶⁹⁵. In Calvin's view, the Holy Spirit lifts up the communicants to where Christ is, in heaven. Although *HLS* 57 verse three mentions an upward movement ('how can heavenly spirits rise, by earthly matter fed...') further evidences of such understanding have proved hard to find. The verse could mean a rising from the sphere of the earthly and material by those who are destined for higher Spiritual matters. Wesley might not have planned to pen any theological insight into the location or movement of Christ or of the communicants in this hymn after all.⁶⁹⁶

Quoting Brevint, Wesley insisted:

... the main intention of Christ therein, was not, the bare Remembrance of His passion; but over and above, to invite us to His sacrifice, not as done and gone many years since, but, as to grace and mercy, still lasting, still new, still the same as it was first offered for us.⁶⁹⁷

With Wesley, although Christ is in heaven as eternal priest and intercessor, one cannot help but feel that the movement is more sideways than upwards: with the removal of the 'veil' which blinds us, one can see Calvary just before us.⁶⁹⁸

The 'past historical event' alone with the Eucharist has become what Ole Borgen⁶⁹⁹ called 'the Eternal Now', brought about by the Spirit. Thurian speaks of a situation where 'the past

⁶⁹⁵ *HLS* 91/1.

⁶⁹⁶ Some scholars have tried to show Wesley's indebtedness to Luther and Calvin. Hildebrandt's from Luther to Wesley aligned Wesley to Luther. Cell in the *Rediscovery of John Wesley, Sanders and Parris*, presented Wesley in a Calvinistic mould. Yet it must be admitted that John never refers to Calvin in his discussions of the sacraments (Staples, 1991, p.228). Outler considered the attempt to make John Wesley a theological heir of Continental Protestantism as 'a notion that would have astonished Wesley'. There are a few instructive parallels between Wesley in the eighteenth century and Luther and Calvin in the sixteenth, but it is highly misleading to interpret him as their conscious debtor (Outler, 1964, pp.119-120.)

⁶⁹⁷ *HLS*, p.6.

⁶⁹⁸ *HLS* 3, 8,122.

⁶⁹⁹ Stacey, 1988, p.71.

event became present or rather each person became a contemporary of the past event'.⁷⁰⁰ The remembrance is seen as a dynamic participation in the past event rather than a recollection made psychologically. Wesley acknowledged that the passion was 'in this mysterious rite brought back'.⁷⁰¹ Therefore, communicants experience 'anew' the presence in the sacrament.

The Eucharist is referred to by Wesley as 'a memorial of the suffering and death of Christ'.⁷⁰² In the Eucharistic hymns, this 'memorial' entails the believer 'arriving' at the foot of the cross to behold Christ's first and only sacrifice in reverence and adoration as it is happening:

See the slaughter'd Sacrifice,
See the altar stain'd with blood!
Crucified before our eyes
Faith discerns the dying God...⁷⁰³

There are times when the believer 'arrives' at the point of his death, beholding him 'as newly dead'⁷⁰⁴, noting that 'still the blood is warm'⁷⁰⁵. In his context of this heightened awareness of Christ's presence at the Eucharistic Table, the encounter takes place between the communicant and Christ in a dynamic and personal way.

Finally, it must be said that there is a place for mystery in Wesley's Eucharistic theology. McAdoo observed that Brevint is in the Anglican tradition from Andrews onwards through a

⁷⁰⁰ Turian, 1966, p.19.

⁷⁰¹ *HLS* 123/3.

⁷⁰² *HLS* title of Section One

⁷⁰³ *HLS* 18/2.

⁷⁰⁴ *HLS* 3/3.

⁷⁰⁵ *HLS* 122/3.

definition of what Hooker calls 'the manner How'⁷⁰⁶. Reading Wesley's Eucharistic hymns, the same can be said of Wesley.⁷⁰⁷ Bowmer claimed that Wesley understood that the presence is close to the classical Anglican position which was 'content to insist on the "virtue" imparted in the sacrament and to leave the question of the "how" of the sacramental action ultimately unresolved'⁷⁰⁸. While I would disagree with Bowmer's suspicion that Wesley held Calvinistic virtualist views⁷⁰⁹ the second statement is fair. There is recognition of the limitations of the human intellect to comprehend the works of God (as mystery). For Wesley, the human response to this mystery is simply to accept the gift of the presence, the fruits of the encounter, and to give grateful thanks.

It is time to deal with the question: 'was there a reason other than Wesley's effective efforts which motivated his people to respond in this way?' the answer would be the encounters that the communicants had with the presence of the living Christ at the communion Table. No power of intellectual argument, strategic organisation or determined leadership can compare with the impact of a dynamic and deeply personal experience which touched one's senses and emotions.⁷¹⁰

For Wesley Communion was more significantly a living encountering with a person, the living

⁷⁰⁶ Henry R McAdoo, 'A Theology of the Eucharist', in *Theology*, edited by Ann Loades (London: SPCK, Volume XCVII, 1994), p. 252.

⁷⁰⁷ Cf. How the bread His flesh imparts,
How the wine transmits His Blood...
How we the grace receive
Feeble elements bestow
A power not their to give...
How can heavenly spirits rise,
By earthly matter fed... (*HLS* 57/ 1, 2, 3.) and Cf. *HLS* 59/1-2.

⁷⁰⁸ Bowmer 1951, p. 91.

⁷⁰⁹ Virtualism has been defined by Stevenson as 'a tendency to see the Presence of Christ in his virtue and power in the elements, while the elements themselves remain bread and wine'. Stevenson would later say that Wesley in his Eucharistic teaching was saved from virtualism by the very personal elements found in their Eucharistic theology (Stevenson 1994, p.172f). Wesley's stronger and more personal expressions of the presence made it clear that Calvin's vague quasi-physical references to 'power' did not adequately describe the experience of the Eucharistic encounter.

⁷¹⁰ Cf., *CWJ* 25/5/1746. Charles mentioned about an Eucharistic service:
Our Lord was made known to us, as He always is, in the breaking of bread. Let the Quaker and Orthodox dispute about the ordinance: our Saviour satisfies us a shouter way.

Christ.⁷¹¹ This fervour leaves us with the question, 'why then did that revival die?' I will catch it up in the next following part.

2.3. Divine initiative: Christ's own work of sacrifice or our offering?

Wesley had a massive weight of the subject of sacrifice involved to the Eucharist. It links with the matter of salvation, by Christ or our own devotion. Wesley stated both in the view of Eucharistic theology. To describe this I will have seven three parts in here. The first and the second are with Christ's own work. The third has believer's participation in that we plead Christ's sacrifice. The last four are our sacrifices to Him in practice.

First, Christ's sacrifice death on the cross is the source of the Eucharist. For Wesley Christ's sacrifice is unrepeatable and complete one-time event⁷¹² for all. Christ's sacrifice was voluntary not because of human request. Wesley reflected Christ's death as the second Adam who, Christ, offered himself as a ransom.⁷¹³ The fully human Christ bears the full extent of the Father's wrath; receives the 'rage of sinful man'⁷¹⁴ suffering at the hands of both.⁷¹⁵ Christ takes our pains and sorrows which are the result of sins⁷¹⁶ by making 'expiation and oblation'⁷¹⁷, atonement⁷¹⁸ a sacrifice that is sweet and pleasing to God.⁷¹⁹ By doing this, He made us able to begin anew, free from the 'seeds of pride and just' and the desire of the world,⁷²⁰

Wesley as an heir of the Protestant reformation carefully resisted the Roman Catholic

⁷¹¹ 'The Lord's Supper' in his *Journal* appears more than 200 times, or 'the Lord's Table' used more than 58 times, and 'communion' about 75.

⁷¹² Cf. *HLS* 121/2, 122/1, 124/1.

⁷¹³ *HLS* 132/1-2.

⁷¹⁴ *HLS* 2/2, 2/4.

⁷¹⁵ *HLS* 2/5.

⁷¹⁶ *HLS* 156/2, 133/1.

⁷¹⁷ *HLS* 128/1.

⁷¹⁸ *HLS* 132/2.

⁷¹⁹ *HLS* 116/4.

⁷²⁰ *HLS* 135/4.

teaching. The difference between Wesley's understanding of sacrifice and the Roman Catholic understanding focuses on two key aspects. First, for Wesley, the Christ sacrifice for our salvation is a one-time, completely sufficient event. However, the Roman Catholic during the time of Wesley was that sacrifice was repeated at every Eucharistic service. Second, Wesley taught that the church 'pleads' the sacrifice of Christ. It does not offer Christ to the Father as a mediating intercessor. The church's role is active in a receptive mode. The only other sacrifice offered at the Eucharist is the offerings of the people in acts of self-surrender to God.

For the Roman Catholics love for Christ seemed to be more focused on Christ as a person whose character is expressed in his life. For Wesley love for Christ seemed to be more in response to his love expressed most vividly on the cross. Yet for Wesley there is no romanticism or inordinate focus on Calvary. Christ's work on the cross, the present work of Christ and the Eucharist are inextricably linked. His identity and action are one. Christ is the sacrificial lamb, the one who is sacrificed to appease God's wrath. Christ reveals God's loving heart. He is the ascended yet perpetual priest, Intercessor and the 'Master of the Feast'.⁷²¹ Rattenbury mentioned that remembering Him until He comes again always involves the event of Calvary the crucifixion of Christ who died for us.⁷²²

Meanwhile, Wesley constantly preached salvation for everyone who would respond, not for the select which some of Methodists followed Calvin's soteriology.⁷²³ Wesley could not avoid controversies against the Calvinists in Methodism who stressed that Christ died only for the elect, not for all. In the *HLS* Wesley's theology of universalism, which was first stated by Origen (185-254), echoes through several hymns: i.e. 'dead for all, for me he died'⁷²⁴, 'the atonement Thou for all hast made'.⁷²⁵ In these hymns there was reflected certain intentions

⁷²¹ *HLS* 84/3.

⁷²² Rattenbury, 1948, p.94.

⁷²³ Cf. *Institutes* III.11.

⁷²⁴ *HLS* 164/4.

⁷²⁵ *HLS* 19/2 Cf. *HLS* 131/1, 30/7.

for theological issues of sacrifice for everyone.

Second, the Eucharist is the living body of Christ who offers himself to God, as high priest and victim for us.⁷²⁶

O thou eternal Victim slain
A sacrifice for guilty man,
By the eternal spirit made
An offering in the sinner's stead
Our everlasting Priest art Thou,
And plead'st Thy death for sinner now.

The offering still continues now;
Thy vesture keeps its bloody hue;
Thou stand'st the ever slaughtered Lamb;
Thy priesthood still remains the same;
Thy years, O God, can never fail;
Thy goodness is unchangeable.⁷²⁷

About this theme, Non-juror Nelson's book, *A Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England*, which Wesley read in his pre-Aldersgate years, could make reference to it⁷²⁸. McAdoo claimed that the theme of the heavenly altar and heavenly intercession, which had its roots in Irenaeus's thinking⁷²⁹, continued through seventeenth century Anglican theology. It was at the heart of Brevint's understanding of the Eucharist as both sacrament and sacrifice. It was also central to Taylor's Eucharistic theology.⁷³⁰

⁷²⁶ Bowmer, 1951,p.181.

⁷²⁷ HLS 5/1.2.

⁷²⁸ Nelson, 1704, pp. 467-8.

⁷²⁹ Henry R McAdoo, *The Eucharistic Theology of Jeremy Taylor Today* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1988), p.69.

⁷³⁰ McAdoo, 1994,pp.247-8. Cf. McAdoo, 1988,p.67.

George indicated that 'the idea that the blood still flows is a way of saying that the death is still efficacious'⁷³¹. What is unusual is that the Wesley's desire to emphasise the 'still efficacious' nature of Christ's sacrifice led them to use metaphors beyond what Scripture described. And in Eucharistic poems Wesley used time and space-transcending expressions in which the believer 'arrives' at the cross on Calvary during the Eucharist, Wesley intended and believed the Eucharist leads all the communicants to the cross on which living Jesus is bleeding. The believer witnesses the most gracious moment of the crucifixion.⁷³² That moment happens during the Eucharist or at a moment during or just after taking His body (bread) and His blood (wine). In *HLS* 117/1, Christ 'still offer' set up Thyself to God'. The writer of the epistle to the Hebrews, however, has Christ the high priest seated after making his once and for all sacrifice. The Scriptures are clear that the sacrifice was completed. All that needed to be done was achieved. George concluded that there is no inconsistency between the two spiritual states which they represent – namely, that He stands to plead, or He sits in triumph. With regard to Christ's continued intercession in a 'standing' mode, he referred to Hebrews 9:24 where Christ entered heaven 'now to appear in the presence of God on our behalf' and Revelation 5:6 where 'a Lamb standing, that the interest of Wesley was not in denigrating Christ's victory or suggesting that the work of atonement was incomplete. Wesley wanted to emphasise his role in the present moment, as the active, effective and committed Intercessor those or for whom he gave his life.

The third sacrificial act is that we plead his sacrifice as Lamb of God to God⁷³³ praying for

⁷³¹ Raymond George, 'The Lord's Supper', in *The Doctrine of the Church*, edited by Dow Kirkpatrick (London: Epworth, 1964), p. 154.

⁷³² *HLS* 122/3.

⁷³³ Cf. *HLS* 118/4.

Still the wounds are open wide,
The blood doth freely flow
As when first His sacred side
Received the deadly blow:
Still, O God, the blood is warm

God to hear his blood interceding for us⁷³⁴, to look at us 'through Jesus' wounds'⁷³⁵ to 'behold Him'⁷³⁶ as 'spread before His eyes'⁷³⁷ the one, eternal, not to be repeated, sacrifice of Christ. Rattenbury said about a kind of parallelism at work here:

... just as the priest Victim in heaven pleads the cause of the sinful for whom He died, so on earth by means of the bread and wine, the tokens of His love, we plead the death of Christ.⁷³⁸

This 'showing forth' of this death is to God the Father and also to Jesus, pleading: 'O remember Calvary and bid us go in peace'⁷³⁹. When Stevenson identified the different Eastern Church liturgical 'families', he found that the Egyptian school saw the putting of the elements on the altar as the only offering involved. The Antiochenes, however, had a rather elaborate commemoration and 'pleading' of Christ's sacrifice/oblation. It had a consecratory *epiclesis* as well. Perhaps Wesley was closer to this school liturgically. Wesley described, in his Eucharistic hymns, both characteristics of the Antiochene school.⁷⁴⁰

The view of the Eucharist as the sacrifice of Christ presented to the Father was a problem in the Anglican Church regarding how to disengage the term from the Roman Catholic understanding of the mass as the Church offering Christ to the Father. It has to be made clear that the church can only plead or 'offer up'⁷⁴¹ the sacrifice of Christ. There is a need to hold on tightly to two 'ground rules': commitment to the sole sufficiency of Christ's unrepeatable sacrificial death, pleading its effects on the present⁷⁴² and admission of the church's actively receptive role in the salvific act. McAdoo described Taylor's picture of the Offerer being offered 'as sacrificed' in conjunction with his perpetual offering to the Father in

⁷³⁴ HLS 14/1.

⁷³⁵ HLS 120/1.

⁷³⁶ HLS 121/1,2; 119.

⁷³⁷ HLS 125/2.

⁷³⁸ Rattenbury, 1948, p. 109.

⁷³⁹ HLS 20/ 1-4.

⁷⁴⁰ Stevenson, 1984, p. 209-228.

⁷⁴¹ HLS 125.

⁷⁴² Cocksworth, 1993, p. 44.

heaven.⁷⁴³ Bramball called the Eucharist a 'commemoration, representation, an application of the all sufficient propitiatory sacrifice of the Cross'.⁷⁴⁴ What is new is the weight Wesley gave to the emphasis that it is a sacrifice. It is true that Wesley did not shrink back from referring to communion as a Christian sacrifice⁷⁴⁵ nor from using the word 'altar'.⁷⁴⁶ Brevint in his original text had included the subtitle 'of the Holy Eucharist, as it implies a sacrifice. And first of the commemorative Sacrifice'⁷⁴⁷, Wesley while following the words of his subheading in his hymns⁷⁴⁸, changed Brevint in their edition of his work. They had it down as 'concerning the Sacrament, as it is a sacrifice. First, the Commemorative Sacrifice' should be considered.⁷⁴⁹ This is a strong affirmation of the sacrificial aspect of the sacrament when we consider Brevint's rather tentative reference to the Eucharist as a 'kind of sacrifice'.⁷⁵⁰ Brevint wrote:

To men 'tis a Sacred Table, where God's Minister is ordered to represent from God his Master the Passion of his dear Son, as still fresh and still powerful for their Eternal Salvation: and to God it is an Altar whereon men mystically *represent* (Wesley removed) to him the same sacrifice as still bleeding and still sueing for *expiation* (Wesley removed) and mercy.⁷⁵¹

Wesley replaced the words 'represent' with the stronger word 'present'⁷⁵². That might be because of that Wesley was in struggling with a background where the Roman Catholics had accused the Protestants of having no external sacrifices. Thus, the argument went on, the Protestants would have no priesthood and no church. John Harding of Louvain was of that mind he had a long-running controversy with Bishop John Jewel about the matter in the

⁷⁴³ McAdoo, 1988, p. 65.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 69.

⁷⁴⁵ CWJ 28/3/1738.

⁷⁴⁶ HLS 18/2.

⁷⁴⁷ Brivent, 1673: p.71..

⁷⁴⁸ Wesley, 1745, p.98.

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid., p.20.

⁷⁵⁰ Brevint, 1673: pp.74-5.

⁷⁵¹ Ibid., p.75-76.

⁷⁵² Wesley, 1745, p.22.

sixteenth century⁷⁵³ the Anglican divines insisted that there is sacrifice offered at the Eucharist. While they referred to the offerings of the people-prayer, alms, praise, thanksgiving, human lives⁷⁵⁴- Jewel and Laud both named Christ's own sacrifice as well. Even if the Roman Church would not recognise the other sacrifices as such, they could not ignore the latter. The issue of an external sacrifice spilled over into the eighteenth century⁷⁵⁵. This could have spurred Wesley to emphasise the reality of the Holy Communion as a sacrifice in which the effects of Christ's sacrifice are pleaded for. Wesley believed in an outward sacrifice like this that the Anglican Church held on strongly to an outward priesthood⁷⁵⁶. This understanding kept the early Methodist revival from being a lay movement in spite of hit popular use of lay leadership. It also was the cause of Wesley's ordinations which finally resulted in the separation of the Methodists from the Church of England.

The fourth, the 'pleading' of Christ's sacrifice was that he was able to strongly affirm the present efficacy of Christ's unique unrepeatable and costly sacrifice made on the cross. This had powerful implications in a pastoral sense for Wesley's ministry. Does this mean that Wesley believed the church could activate Christ's sacrifice by pleading for its application? If so, this is a problem, as Williams suggestions:

Who is the agent of the eucharist?...if Christ's sacrifice needs 'activation', this suggests that Christ is not now mighty to save by and through this accomplished work. It is he and he alone who pleads his sacrifice. Doctrines of eucharistic sacrifice transfer the agency to church or priest and thus immobilize Christ⁷⁵⁷

Although Williams was not referring to Wesley, his observation needs to be taken seriously.

⁷⁵³ Jewel, 1847, p. 16, 410.

⁷⁵⁴ Ibid., p.410, and Waterland, 1738, p.28.

⁷⁵⁵ Waterland, 1738, p.55-56.

⁷⁵⁶ Rattenbury, 1948, pp.76-77.

⁷⁵⁷ Williams, 1982, p.3.

Just as prayer or the lack of it cannot be seen as ‘turning on or off the tap’ for God to act, neither can the plea or silence of the church be seen as the sole cause of ‘activating’ or ‘not activating’ Christ’s sacrifice. This accusation might have had some weight if it had been directed against Roman Catholic Eucharistic understanding during the time of Wesley. However for Wesley, Christ is the intercessor. The church joins in his intercession. It was different from some aspects of late medieval Roman Catholic teaching, such intercession has no power to automatically claim any tangible benefits of his passion and certainly does not do so for anyone who might not be willing consciously to receive it. Wesley had often stressed the relationship between divine grace and human cooperation. All the believers are called to do is to commemorate the sacrifice before the Father:

With solemn faith we offer up,
And spread before Thy glorious eyes
That only ground of all our hope,
That precious, bleeding sacrifice...⁷⁵⁸

The next two lines sound as if the action of God is tied to the actions of the believer: ‘... Which brings Thy grace on sinners down, And perfects all our Souls in One.’ However the fourth stanza indicates that it is not an automatic ‘cause and effect’ action. God the Father is the one who has the decisive decision of word.

the prayer, trusting in his grace.
Father, behold Thy dying Son,
...
Thy kingdom come to every heart,
And all thou hast and all Thou art.⁷⁵⁹

⁷⁵⁸ HLS 125/2.
⁷⁵⁹ HLS 125/4.

Through Wesley's teaching about the complete work of Christ for all on the cross, His continuing work of presenting His sacrifice before the Father by his intercession for us and our pleading for the effects of His sacrifice, Wesley was able to underline his theme of the initiating, providing and sustaining grace of God in his Eucharistic theology.

It is only with the grace of God as the backdrop that Wesley moved on to the fourth sacrifice: that of the Eucharist as the offering of ourselves to him. This offering entails the giving of our very beings: our wills⁷⁶⁰, our souls, bodies⁷⁶¹, zeal, thoughts and desires.⁷⁶² It is the offerings of tears⁷⁶³, sorrow for our sin, our mourning in grief and shame⁷⁶⁴. It is our commitment to die to sin daily.⁷⁶⁵

Luther and Calvin, Brevint and Wesley saw the believer first as recipient at the Table, then as the one who gives in response to God's love – i.e. first the 'sacrament', then the 'sacrifice'.⁷⁶⁶ Calvin, for instance insisted on the gracious nature of the sacrifice so much that he would see that the application of Christ's passion is not confirmed by new obligation but when communicant receives the fruits of it⁷⁶⁷ Wesley, however, in comparison with the

⁷⁶⁰ HLS 133/5.

⁷⁶¹ HLS 153/2.

⁷⁶² HLS 152/3.

⁷⁶³ HLS 152/2.

⁷⁶⁴ HLS 133/2-3.

⁷⁶⁵ HLS 141/6, 8; 135/1, 2.

The feet which did to evil run,
The hands which violence acts have done,
The greedy heart and eyes,
Base weapons of iniquity,
We offer up to death with Thee
A whole burnt Sacrifice.

My hands I stretch out to Thee,
My hands I fasten to the tree...

No more may they offend... (HLS 149/1-2)

⁷⁶⁶ Wainwright, 1994, p. 13.

⁷⁶⁷ *Institutes*, vol4, 18:7.

'(The Lord's Supper is) a gift of God which was to be received with thanksgiving... as wide as

other two(Luther and Brevint), displayed a stronger degree of concern about the response of the recipients. As insistent as they were about the prevenient grace of God, they were passionate about human response to that grace. This is in line with his teaching about the Eucharist as a relational sacrament. Since the encounter with Christ at the Table, one's relationship with him would not be on strictly utilitarian plane where the question, 'what do I get out of this?' is the only concern. The stress on human response to the grace and love of God in Christ testify to the existence of a personal relationship.

The fifth reference to sacrifice is in a more positive, proactive mode: the offering of our willingness to live his life, identifying with him in his suffering⁷⁶⁸, 'panting' or full conformity to his likeness.⁷⁶⁹ This is described in two ways. First, this is seen in the cheerful response to persecution, chastisement and even martyrdom.⁷⁷⁰ Wilson in *Many Waters Cannot Quench*, described the sufferings of the early Methodists. Opposition was experienced from the gentry, aristocracy, clergy, the university and some governmental authorities. Persecution was experienced at the hand of families, neighbours, and employers. Early Methodists had to contend with mob violence, public ridicule and written accusations.⁷⁷¹ Wesley, commenting on Colossians 1:24, spoke of the unity of suffering among Christians and how those sufferings are united with those of Christ and used by him as testimony to others of gospel truth. Wilson felt that Wesley's conception of the communion took on special significance because Methodists were 'compellingly reminded of the relationship between their sufferings and those of Christ'. The Table was, among other things, a strengthening reminder to suffering Christians that there will be reward for His suffering and beyond the present is the hope of glory.⁷⁷² Second, the sacrifice is expressed in forgiving foes, like Stephen in the

giving differ from receiving, does sacrifice differ from the sacrament of the Supper. But in receiving the gift we apply the once-offered sacrifice to ourselves.' see. more vol4, 18:3.

⁷⁶⁸ HLS 134/3; 148; 149.

⁷⁶⁹ HLS 130/1.

⁷⁷⁰ HLS 142/6-7; 144/3-4.

⁷⁷¹ D Dunn Wilson, *Many Waters Cannot Quench* (London: Epworth, 1969), pp. ix-x.

⁷⁷² Ibid., pp. 148-151.

book of Acts.⁷⁷³ Wesley wrote:

I was well pleased to partake of the Lord's Supper with my old opponent, Bishop Lavington. O may we sit down together in the kingdom of our Father!⁷⁷⁴

The sixth aspect of sacrifice and offering is that of our goods. Wesley referred not to divestment of material things in the sense of voluntary poverty, but to the cultivation of a spirit of detachment akin to what we read in a part of *The Directions for Renewing our Covenant with God* in the *Covenant Service*.⁷⁷⁵ The Directions read:

... Make me what thou wilt, Lord, and set me where thou wilt... let my dwelling be upon the dunghill, my portion in the wilderness, my name and lot amongst the hewers of wood, or drawers of water, among the doorkeepers of thy house; any where I may be serviceable ; I put myself wholly into thy hands: put me to what thou wilt, rank me with whom thou wilt; put me to doing, put me to suffering, let me be employed for thee, or laid aside for thee; exalted for thee, or trodden under foot for thee; let me be full, let me be empty, let me have all things, let me have nothing, I freely and heartily resign all to thy pleasure and disposal...⁷⁷⁶

One of the Eucharistic hymns described it thus:

Welcome whate'er my God ordain!
Afflict with poverty or pain
This feeble flesh of mine,
(but grant me strength to bear my load)
... whate'er thou send'st, I take it all,

⁷⁷³ HLS 144/4.

⁷⁷⁴ Journal 29/8/1762.

⁷⁷⁵ On 11 August 1755, Wesley introduced to his people a service for corporate renewal of Christian commitment. A primarily New Year observance, *the Covenant Service* became linked with the celebration of Holy Communion for the Methodists.

⁷⁷⁶ David Tripp, *The Renewal of Covenant in the Methodist Tradition* (London: Epworth, 1969), p.183.

Reproach, or pain, or less...⁷⁷⁷

Determin;s althey will t'obey,
Thy blessings I restore;
Give, Lord, or take Thy gifts away,
I praise Thee evermore⁷⁷⁸

It is noteworthy that the communion was associated with the Covenant Service on possibly all occasions.⁷⁷⁹ They reinforced each other in the spiritual formation of Methodists.

Finally, the seventh aspect of sacrifice is seen in our prayers and praise⁷⁸⁰: in songs⁷⁸¹, loud lifting voice and joy⁷⁸² as the 'stammer's tongues are loosed to praise.'⁷⁸³ Around our altars, we are joined by 'listening angels, heavenly powers⁷⁸⁴, 'arch-angels'⁷⁸⁵ and 'our Elder Brethren'⁷⁸⁶ in praising God. We are not alone. The angel hosts, the church triumphant, joins the church militant in the celebration of communion.

Although Wesley gave a high place to thanksgiving and praise, he did not emphasise this as strongly as Calvin in the context of communion. Wallace noted that in the first edition of the *Institutes*,

Calvin saw that an essential aspect of the Lord's Supper was the presence of such a willing sacrifice of gratitude to God on the part of the communicants, and he expressed himself willing to give this sacrificial and spontaneous response of thanksgiving the name of

⁷⁷⁷ HLS 143/3, 5.

⁷⁷⁸ HLS 145/5 Cf., Baker, 1962, p. 131. *A hymn at the Sacrament*.

⁷⁷⁹ Tripp 1969, p. 31.

⁷⁸⁰ HLS 161/2. Cf. *Collection* 493/3.

⁷⁸¹ HLS 161/2.

⁷⁸² HLS 162/2.

⁷⁸³ HLS 158/3.

⁷⁸⁴ HLS 164/2.

⁷⁸⁵ HLS 161/2.

⁷⁸⁶ HLS 162/2.

'eucharistic' sacrifice.⁷⁸⁷

There is yet another aspect of this sacrifice of praise which we ought to note in the Eucharistic hymns. Although Methodists were often rewarded with the experience of Christ's presence at the Table, there were moments when they felt dry and abandoned. As we have noted in chapter one, Charles recorded some such experiences. In moments like these, the Eucharist becomes in a very real sense a sacrifice of prayer and praise. As Wesley described it:

And shall I let Him go?

If now I do not feel

The streams of living water flow

Shall I forsake the well?

Because He hides his face

Shall I no longer stay,

But leave the channels of his grace

And cast the means away?

He concluded with

He bids me eat the bread,

No other motive, Lord, I need

No other word than Thine⁷⁸⁸

Wesley looked at the sacrifice of Jesus and the sacrifice we bring and asked, 'How can the two oblations join?' One is all holy and all divine and the other is 'human and weak, and

⁷⁸⁷ Wallace, 1953, p. 215.

⁷⁸⁸ HLS 86/ 1, 2, 5.

sinful'⁷⁸⁹ The solution to this paradox is to 'conjoin'⁷⁹⁰ or 'mix'⁷⁹¹ our sacrifice with his, and 'supported by His sacrifice'⁷⁹², our offering is presented to the Father, in, with and through Him.

Our mean imperfect sacrifice
On Thine is as a burden thrown,
Both in a common flame arise.
And both in God's account are one.⁷⁹³

In the end, perhaps Wesley's teaching is reflective of the Augustinian concept that we are able to offer ourselves only in so far as we are incorporated through communion 'in the supreme oblation of Christ'⁷⁹⁴. Again, the theme of grace surfaces in Wesley's Eucharistic theology. It is through his grace that our offerings can be acceptable to him.

It might be helpful to note here that the sacrifice mentioned by the Wesley brothers is not merely an individual sacrifice:

Clothed in His righteousness, receive,
And bid me one with Jesus live,
Join all He sanctifies one,
One cross, one glory, and one crown.⁷⁹⁵

As Rattenbury pointed out, the word 'we' appears in all of the hymns.

There is one exception to the rule that the pronouns are plural in all the hymns of Eucharistic

⁷⁸⁹ *HLS* 147/2.

⁷⁹⁰ *HLS* 133/4.

⁷⁹¹ *HLS* 153/2.

⁷⁹² *HLS* 152/4. Cf. 141/5, 140/3.

⁷⁹³ *HLS* 147/4.

⁷⁹⁴ Brilioth, 1930, p.284.

⁷⁹⁵ *HLS* 152/5.

oblations⁷⁹⁶.

The individual aspect of the corporate offering is obvious already in the personal nature of the hymns. Unlike Roman Catholic Eucharistic theology as seen above, Wesley did not subordinate the corporate element of the sacrament to individualistic devotions -Eucharistic or otherwise. If there was any prayer spirituality, it would be generated within the context of the liturgy and flow from there into the communicants' daily lives. Use of the *HLS* and devotional texts like Brevint's possibly provided the means of deepening one's Eucharistic experience. The corporate element of the Eucharist, as important to Wesley as it was to the reformers and to the Wesley's Anglican forbears, meant loving God through love for one's neighbour expressed not only in worship but also in actual life situations.

Some themes about Eucharistic sacrifice seem to be missing or have been left undeveloped in Wesleyan Eucharistic theology. One is Irenaeus's teaching on the Eucharist as an offering of creation, represented by the Eucharistic elements. Schooled as he was in the writings of the early church fathers Wesley could not have been unaware of this teaching. He had also included Nelson's *A Companion for the Festivals and fasts of the Church of England* in his Christian Library with a particular focus on Nelson's answer to the question, 'What was the End and Design of Instituting the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper?' Nelson had written:

To be the Christian Sacrifice, wherein the Bread and Wine are offered to God, to acknowledge him Lord of the Creatures; and accordingly in the Ancient Church they were laid on the Table by the Priest, as they are still ordered to be done by the Rubrick in the Church of England, and the tendered to God by this short Prayer, Lord we offer thy own out of what thou hast bountiful given us, which by conservation being made Symbols of the body and Blood of Christ...⁷⁹⁷

⁷⁹⁶ Rattenbury, 1948, p. 132.

⁷⁹⁷ Nelson, 1704, pp.467-8.

George sees Wesley as a follower of Cyprian's theology which focuses on the passion of the Lord as the main sacrifice that is offered at the Table.⁷⁹⁸ The second theme was the picture that St. Augustine created of the members of the body of Christ being offered on the Table as the Eucharistic elements.⁷⁹⁹ Perhaps in light of the special and urgent vocation of Wesley, namely, to convert people to Christ, his choice of focus in the Eucharist on the passion and work of Christ rather than the redemption of creation was intentional. Williams indicated that Irenaeus had little interest in the imagery of 'propitiation by bloodshed' and that instead of the sin-offering understanding of the Eucharist, Irenaeus's teaching on Eucharistic sacrifice would be more that of the Eucharist as thank-offering.⁸⁰⁰ Given Wesley's strong substitutionary beliefs about the atonement, it is understandable that he would choose to leave out Irenaeus's Eucharistic theology from his works. One puzzle, however remains; we know that John Wesley was no admirer of Augustine. He had described Augustine sarcastically as 'a wonderful saint! As full of pride, passion, bitterness, censoriousness and as foulmouthed to all that contradicted him.'⁸⁰¹ Yet dislike for a person would not be a good reason for not using his theology especially when it would have been a very powerful and effective image for Eucharistic spiritual formation.

There is one more possible reason for why Wesley did not include the above themes. Both mentioned had one common thread: the focus is on humans actions. The use of these themes could well distract people from what Wesley wanted to highlight in his Eucharistic theology: the central place and importance of the radical, active and hospitable grace of God.

2.4. Christian perfection.

⁷⁹⁸ George, 1964, p. 152, 157.

⁷⁹⁹ Gordon S Wakefield, *The Wesley Hymns on the Lord's Supper(1745) in History and Eucharistic Theology*, in *Like a Two Edged Sword*, edited by Martin Dudley, Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1995) 1995, p.146.

⁸⁰⁰ Williams, 1982, p. 10.

⁸⁰¹ Sermon 68.

Wesley utilised the Eucharist as a therapeutic function more than a legal framework to understand the divine-human interaction. There is no doubt that the Eucharist has a therapeutic role for Christian perfection. Communicants pleaded the healing love with the hymns at the Table.⁸⁰² The Christian perfection strongly relates the matter of sin. In a sermon about Christian Perfection Wesley wrote:

But even babes in Christ are in such a sense perfect, or born of God as...not to commit sin. If any doubt this privilege of the sons of God, the question is not to be decided by abstract reasonings...Neither is it to be determined by the experience of this or that particular person. Many suppose they do not commit sin, when they do; but this proves nothing either way. To the law and testimony we appeal. "Let God be true, and every man a liar." By His word will we abide, and that alone. Hereby we ought to be judged.⁸⁰³

About the original sin, Wesley postulated in the fallen state, humanity is in a totally depraved condition of atheism which bears idolatry, pride, self-will, and love of the world.⁸⁰⁴ However, Wesley expressed it as the fallen state, namely, sin was thought as sickness as the Eastern theologians thought. Salvation is of healing of this sickness or long-term spiritual therapy leading to full healing as wholeness or Christian perfection. It was also called as 'scriptural holiness', 'entire sanctification', or 'perfect love'. 'Christian perfection' here means the state of living where there is 'holiness in heart and life', where one loves God and one's neighbour with pure intention, and where one becomes conformed to the image of Christ.⁸⁰⁵

The understanding of Christian Perfection in Wesley's time had been a cause of division among serious Christians throughout the history of the church. It is still a living issue. Wesley himself stated

⁸⁰² *HLS 58/ 5.* '... O let the troubled waters move, And minister Thy healing love.'

⁸⁰³ Sermon 40.

⁸⁰⁴ Sermon 44.

⁸⁰⁵ Sermon 112.

There is scarce any expression in holy writ, which has given more offence than this. The word *perfect* is what many cannot bear. The very sound of it is an abomination to them; and whosoever *preaches perfection*, (as the phrase is,) that is, asserts that it is attainable in this life, runs great hazard of being accounted by them worse than a heathen man or a publican.⁸⁰⁶

Wesley further clarified the nature of this perfection:

He that is, by faith, born of God, sinneth not (1). By any habitual sin; for all habitual sin is sin reigning: But sin cannot reign in any that believeth. Nor (2). By any willful sin; for his will, while he abideth in the faith, is utterly set against all sin, and abhorreth it as deadly poison. Nor (3). By any sinful desire; for he continually desireth the holy and perfect will of God; and any tendency to an unholy desire, he, by the grace of God, stiflenth in the birth. Nor (4). Doth he sin by infirmities, whether in act, word, or thought; for his infirmities have no concurrence of his will; and without this they are not properly sins. Thus, "he that is born of God doth not commit sin:" And though he cannot say, he hath not sinned, yet now "he sinneth not."⁸⁰⁷

Wesley, while referring to a Kempis's book, 'the Christian Pattern', wrote:

we are directed how to read the holy Scriptures: And the whole fourth book instructs us how to make the Holy Communion an effectual means of Christian perfection.⁸⁰⁸

It is sure that Wesley was influenced by a Kempis at one stage of his life and held the author in high respect even in his later years.⁸⁰⁹ Wesley confirmed the Eucharist as a therapeutic sacrament providing 'the medicine of immortality' for communicants as they seek healing of their present condition in perfect love. The visible method of the Table and invisible aim of Christian perfection are linked in a special scheme.

⁸⁰⁶ Sermon 40.

⁸⁰⁷ Sermon 76.

⁸⁰⁸ JWW 14.

⁸⁰⁹ Journal 24/5/1738, Sermon 55, JWW 2.

In practice, the use of *HLS* during the communion has several references to healing/Christian perfection. Reflecting on the story of the pool of Bethesda in John 5:2ff Wesley cried: The Lord's Supper calls out to all with 'searching pain' whose conscience troubles them with their past sins. At the Table, There was a prayer for the application of Christ's 'healing blood'.⁸¹⁰

Taste; and dismiss your guilty fear,.

O, taste and see that God is here

To heal your souls and sin subdue.⁸¹¹

The Eucharistic hymns urged the using of the story of the flow of blood from the woman in the gospels.⁸¹² At the Eucharistic Table the believer pleaded for the healing of emotional wounds, spiritual sicknesses and even physical healing. For Wesley, the Eucharist was a real place for healing as the chief means of grace for growing Christian faith towards 'perfect love and life'

I still have fellows with thee:

But chiefly here my soul is fed

With fullness of immortal bread.

Communion closer for I feel,

And deeper drink th'atoning blood;

The joy is more unspeakable,

And yields me larger draughts of God...⁸¹³

⁸¹⁰ *HLS* 25/3.

⁸¹¹ *HLS* 9/3.

⁸¹² *HLS* 39/1.

Touch His sacramental clothes;

Present in His power to heal,

Virtue from His body flows.

⁸¹³ *HLS* 54/4-5.

When Methodists sang the hymn 'author of Life Divine', Wesley was reminded that the role of the Holy Table is to:

Preserve the life Thyself hast give,
And feed, and train us up for heaven.⁸¹⁴

Wesley also argued for the realisation of the perfecting fruits of such observance which is Christian perfection.⁸¹⁵ The Table was understood as the chief means of grace for growing towards that state, so that Wesley desired to utilise the sacrament in a conscious and intentional way in a training program.

As seen above, Wesley was not the first person to have such a therapeutic approach to life through the sacrament. The 'salvation as healing' concept already had some roots in the Eastern Church⁸¹⁶ and there was evidence of it in the works of Anglican theologians⁸¹⁷ and in Stoddard's proclamation of the 'converting' qualities of the sacrament.⁸¹⁸ What surfaced as unique to Wesley was the way he clearly connected the therapeutic thread to issues of salvation, spiritual formation and the use of the Eucharist in spiritual formation, and eschatology. It would suffice for us here firstly to note that there is a therapeutic language and role found in Wesley's description of the Eucharist. Healing is often a process. It takes time. A Eucharistic theology which is very concerned about the memory of Christ's death or about the worthiness of its communicants would be more orientated towards the time-frames of the past and the present. The present dynamic work of Christ, the Holy Spirit at the Eucharistic Table, and the full healing effects of the sacrament on its communicants would

⁸¹⁴ *HLS* 40/1.

⁸¹⁵ *HLS* 166/16, p.19.

Now let the spouse, recline on Thee,
Come up out of the wildness,
Form every spot, and wrinkle free,
And wash'd, and perfected in grace.

⁸¹⁶ Tuttle, 1989, pp.138-9.

⁸¹⁷ Cf., Cockworth, 1993. p. 41.

⁸¹⁸ Holifield, 1974, p.200, 214; Selleck, 1983, p. 136.

not only be looking at the past and the present, but it would also have a very strong focus on the future. Therefore, Wesley's Christian perfection of healing through the Lord's Table reflected an eschatology which included both an 'already' and a 'not yet' dimension. This will be dealt in 2.6. this chapter.

2.5. The Holy Spirit

In a *Letter to a Roman Catholic*, Wesley displayed understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit,

the immediate cause of all holiness in us; enlightening our understandings, rectifying our wills and affections, renewing our natures, uniting our persons to Christ, assuring us of the adoption of sons, leading us in our actions, purifying and sanctifying our souls and bodies, to a full and eternal enjoyment of God.⁸¹⁹

It can be said that the view of the Holy Spirit was already formed in the Eucharistic theology by 1745, Wesley further concentrated on the theme of divine initiative and the work of grace through his description of the role of the Holy Spirit during the work of the *HLS*. The hymns he used express the detailed roles of the Holy Spirit. The dealings with the Holy Spirit are found in four out of the five sections of the *HLS*.⁸²⁰ Wesley mentioned the words 'Holy Spirit' at least thirty times in the *HLS*. Reference to the Spirit was made in 26 out of the 166 hymns (ie. 15.66%).⁸²¹ Khoo also compared the *HLS* with Brevint, noting that the *HLS* grew out of the text, Brevint's work was only prayer directed Father⁸²², the Son,⁸²³ or the

⁸¹⁹ *Letters to Roman Catholic*, 1749.

⁸²⁰ References to the Holy Spirit in the *HLS*: from section I: 5/1; 7/1; 10/5; 16/1, 2. Section II: 30/4, 53/3. 71/3; 75/3; 11/3; 18/6; 89/4; 92/1 (not counted but there is an allusion to the Spirit 76/1. From III: 93/4; 94/4; 112/1. None from section IV. Section V: 130/2; 131/4; 138/2; 150;1,2; 151/1; 155/1,6. Section VI: 159/2; 163/7; 166/19,20.

⁸²¹ Khoo, 2005, p. 89.

⁸²² *Ibid.*, pp.89 - 90. *HLS* 53/1,3.

⁸²³ *HLS* 77.

Trinity,⁸²⁴ exclusively to the Spirit.⁸²⁵ In the *HLS* on the contrast, the prayer was made to the Holy Spirit alone on 6 occasions.⁸²⁶ And the number of references to the Spirit in Wesley's Eucharistic hymns was thirteen times, comparing in ten times by Brevint.⁸²⁷ Brevint who influenced Wesley to the role of Holy Spirit as teacher, an enabler and a sanctifier.⁸²⁸ The Spirit as teacher leads to perceive and concerns on Christ himself in other people, teaching us to devote of our own to serve them.⁸²⁹ The Holy Spirit enables us to perform the dedicated service the believers promise to offer to God⁸³⁰ and to do good moral deeds.⁸³¹ As Sanctifier, he is the Spirit of holy cleansing.⁸³² While he has a role in the life of the believer, his role in the Eucharist seemed to be rather vague. Brevint presents it in a very weak manner. But Wesley strengthened it by saying, '... send with it the influence of the Spirit...' ⁸³³, referring possibly to the specific tasks of the Spirit in the Sacrament which he dwells out in the *Hymns*. Khoo notes that Wesley put more weight on the Spirit as a 'companion-sanctifier' than on any other role. Thirty-three per cent of the hymns or three out of nine in 'after the sacrament' section and 23.3% or seven out of thirty hymns in the section 'concerning the Sacrifice of our Persons' have to do with this role. Wesley saw Christian perfection or 'holiness in heart and life' as the goal for every Christian in present. This emphasises on 'companion-sanctifier' is very important. The believer is not expected to work at sanctification alone. The Spirit does it, with the believer, during and after the sacrament.⁸³⁴ Years later, this belief, Wesley thought, could contribute to form ecumenical mind. In a *letter to a Roman Catholic* (1749) Wesley mentioned that the Holy Spirit is the 'immediate cause of all holiness

⁸²⁴ *HLS* 155.

⁸²⁵ Brevint, 1673, p. 54.

⁸²⁶ *HLS* 7, 16, 72, 75, 112, 151.

⁸²⁷ Brevint, 1673, p.12 (twice), 21, 54, 79(twice), 103, 127(twice), 128.

⁸²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.21. Cf. Khoo, 2005, p.90.

⁸²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.127.

⁸³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.103.

⁸³¹ *Ibid.*, p.128.

⁸³² *Ibid.*, p.54.

⁸³³ John Wesley, 'Hymns on the Lord's Supper', in *The Eucharistic Hymns of John and Charles Wesley* (Americann edition 1990), edited by Timothy T Crouch, OSL Ohio: Order of St Luke Publications), 1745, p.23. quoted in Khoo, 2005, p. 90.

⁸³⁴ Khoo, 2005, p.92.

in us'.⁸³⁵

Khoo also codifies that the Spirit that has four major roles, both in the believer's life as well as in the sacrament.⁸³⁶ First, the Holy Spirit is the 'Remembrancer Divine', being the 'witness to His Dying' and 'True Recorder' of Christ's passion.⁸³⁷ Before and at the Table the communicant prays to invite the Spirit to help us to remember and feel Christ's suffering and his sacrifice, applying the power of his salvation on our lives. The Spirit is also asked, in *HLS* 16 and *HLS* 7- both of which are in the Table as it is a Memorial of the Suffering and Death of Christ' section – to witness inwardly within us that we may recognise and experience Christ and his work in the Holy Table, his 'seal'.⁸³⁸ Second, the Holy Spirit is the life-giver. Life given by the Spirit is not only in order to people but also to the institution of the sacrament and to its elements. In the *HLS* there are the *epiclesis*, for instance,

Come Holy Ghost, Thine influence shed,

And realize the sign,

Thy life infuse into the bread,

Thy power into the wine.

...

To every faithful heart.⁸³⁹

And in the Sacrament the Spirit is called upon to do a quickening work through the elements. When the Spirit touches us, we may 'feel' and 'sensibly believe the 'tokens of Thy dying love'.⁸⁴⁰ This work may be called the conveyance of faith, which enables us to receive in our

⁸³⁵ 'The letter to a Roman Catholic,' 1749.

⁸³⁶ Khoo, 2005, pp. 90-99.

⁸³⁷ *HLS* 16/1-2.

⁸³⁸ *HLS* 7/1-4.

⁸³⁹ *HLS* 72/1-2

⁸⁴⁰ *HLS* 30/4.

hearts the powerful effects of Christ's death, presence and divine love, present peace,⁸⁴¹ future bliss, 'power to walk in all well pleasing'⁸⁴² and 'joy unspeakable'⁸⁴³. Third, the Holy Spirit works as a kind of companion-sanctifier, involved in the believer's identity formation. The Spirit is expected as the Spirit of Christ was transmitted to the early church through the sacrament⁸⁴⁴, so the Spirit's work continues through the sacrament, preparing us to live with God and Christ⁸⁴⁵, filling us with divine love.⁸⁴⁶ Our offering of ourselves to God is through the Spirit⁸⁴⁷ who sanctifies our devotions⁸⁴⁸, helping us as a Spirit of contrition⁸⁴⁹, leading us to obedience.⁸⁵⁰ Lastly, the loving Spirit is the 'Assurance Giver' 'as a Pledge of Heaven'.⁸⁵¹ The Spirit as the seal or promise of eternal bliss is working and leading the communicants actively in their divine experience at the Table. The assurance may be rooted in the fact that Wesley 'put a face' on to the Holy Spirit by identifying him with Jesus in a very intimate way.⁸⁵²

The only section of the *HLS* within which Wesley did not find a role for the Holy Spirit was in the Eucharist' as it implies a Sacrifice'. Biblical references play a major part in inspiring the contents of the Eucharistic hymns. Could it be that there was no ready Biblical reference to the Spirit in this particular aspect of salvation drama?⁸⁵³ The main players in that scenario were the Father and the Son. Yet there were references in other sections to the role of the

⁸⁴¹ *HLS* 75/3-4, 71/3. Cf. *HLS* 92/1.

⁸⁴² *HLS* 78/6-8.

⁸⁴³ *HLS* 89/4.

⁸⁴⁴ *HLS* 166/4.

⁸⁴⁵ *HLS* 159/2; *HLS* 131/4, 137/7; 166/19-20.

⁸⁴⁶ *HLS* 77/3.

⁸⁴⁷ *HLS* 138/2, 150/1.

⁸⁴⁸ *HLS* 150/1.

⁸⁴⁹ *HLS* 151/1-2.

⁸⁵⁰ *HLS* 150/2.

⁸⁵¹ *HLS* 94/4 and 93/4.

⁸⁵² *HLS* 112/1.

⁸⁵³ Most of the biblical passage Wesley used regarding sacrifice are taken from the book of Hebrews. Looking at the verses when the Holy Spirit is referred to in that book, namely Hebrews 2:4; 3:7; 6:4; 9:8; 10:15, and even checking the *ENNT*, failed to surface any reference to the Spirit which Wesley could use on theme (that they might not have alluded to somewhere else).

Spirit which could be appropriate. It was through the Spirit that the sacrifice was made.⁸⁵⁴ The Spirit speaks 'in the blood'⁸⁵⁵, presumably not just to us but to the Father if we follow the Biblical records. Yet Wesley probably wanted to focus on the Father-Son interaction and He allowed nothing in which would distract the reader from the central issue.

The practice of pronouncing an *epiclesis* (invocation of the Holy Spirit's action) over the elements was observed in the Eastern rather than the Western church (there was an example of *epiclesis* in some Gallican rites - a historical sub-grouping of the Roman Catholic liturgy in western Europe, France). At the Council of Florence (1438), the East held that the words of institution were merely the narrative which gives the dominical authority for the consecration. The West insisted that the words of institution sufficed. This dispute became the battle line drawn between East and West⁸⁵⁶. The 1549 *BCP* had an *epiclesis*. Cranmer in the 1549 *BCP* put these words before the words of institution: 'with Thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine'. The prayer was a combination of Eastern and Western views of consecration. The 'Word' mentioned here referred to the 'Words of Institution'.⁸⁵⁷ Meanwhile, there was the Wren's work, 1637 Scottish Anglican rite, which had an *epiclesis*. That was included in the 1662 Eucharist. And Bishop John Cosin (1694-1672), in his book *The Durham Book* containing a number of Laudian proposals for the revision of the Prayer Book at the restoration of the Stuarts to the English throne after the Interregnum), proposed an *epiclesis* for the 1662 *BCP*. But the *epiclesis* disappeared from the subsequent *Prayer Books* of 1552, 1559 and 1662. In contrast, to the Anglican Church's omission of the *epiclesis* from their Eucharistic service (in the *BCP*), Wesley introduced the *epiclesis* in his Eucharistic hymns.

⁸⁵⁴ HLS 5/1.

⁸⁵⁵ HLS 138/2.

⁸⁵⁶ Cooke, 1967, p. 464-465.

⁸⁵⁷ WK Lowther Clarke (editor), *Liturgy and Worship: A Companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion* (London: SPCK, 1964), p.342.

The *epiclesis* in the Eastern Church followed the words of institution. Deacon had his *epiclesis* after the institutional narrative, as it was practiced by the Eastern Church.⁸⁵⁸ Did Wesley follow this? Alexander admits that it would be impossible to find an answer based on the well-known *epiclesis* hymn: *HLS* 72. However, from the structure of *HLS* 3/1,4, he postulates that the liturgical order was institutional narrative, anamnesis, oblation, and *epiclesis*.⁸⁵⁹ If it is true that Wesley and his colleagues used the *epiclesis* hymns during his Eucharistic celebrations and they had the hymnic *epiclesis* after the words of institution, it could follow that Wesley shared the Eastern Church's view regarding the *epiclesis* as the key factor in the consecration of the elements. This is an attractive proposition, but there does not seem to have enough evidence in the Wesleyan *corpus* to confirm whether it was put into actual practice.

Wesley excluded the *epiclesis* from *The Sunday Service* liturgy (1784) that he prepared for the American Methodists. This has raised the question of how important the *epiclesis* is to the Wesleyan understanding of the Eucharist. Would Wesley see the words of institution as the main consecratory act and the *epiclesis* as a useful but optional extra? Or did Wesley assume that the American Methodists would sing the *HLS*, including the two *epiclesis* ones, during the consecration. When they ran out of consecrated elements during an unusually packed Eucharistic service, Wesley wrote: 'I was obliged to consecrate thrice',⁸⁶⁰. The question is: What did Wesley consider as the consecrating aspect of the service - the words of institution or the *epiclesis* (in hymnic or other forms)? Wesley in his revision of the *BCP* for the people in America ensured that the rubric regarding reconsecration of the elements specified that the prayer of consecration was to be repeated. The usual practice (i.e. according to the rubrics in the *BCP* 1662) was to repeat the words of institution. The prayer of

⁸⁵⁸ Wainwright. 1994, p.10.

⁸⁵⁹ J Alexander, *With Eloquence in Speech and Song: Anglican Reflection on the Eucharistic Hymns of John and Charles Wesley*, edited by S.T. Kimbrough, Jr, (Madison: Charles Wesley Society, Volume2: 35-50, 1995), pp.47-8.

⁸⁶⁰ Journal 4/11/1787.

consecration, however, included not only the words of institution (the institution narrative and the *anamnesis*) but preceded these with a prayer of thanksgiving for God's gift of Christ and a kind of preliminary epiclesis directed to the Father. White suggested that this rubric indicated a shift from 'the medieval and Lutheran attitude that the verbal effected consecration rather than the whole act of thanksgiving'⁸⁶¹. It was a departure from his current Church of England Eucharistic theology as well. Was there significance to this? As an ex-missionary in a frontier situation, perhaps the pastoral Wesley could appreciate at that stage of his life that it would be difficult to introduce something radically new to people in already frontier situation. Could the consecration prayer with thanksgiving and a preliminary *epiclesis* be Wesley's moderate alternative to introducing the epiclesis to the Spirit in this situation since this still fulfils his desire to stress the need for divine grace and action in the sacrament? It is a possibility.

Traditionally, the *epiclesis* has been on the elements, on the people and for the effects of the elements on the people⁸⁶². The more ancient *epiclesis* would be prayers for the Spirit's descent on the people and for the effects of the sacrament. *Epiclesis* for the elements was not that common in the West. But we can see some examples of *Epiclesis* in Mozarabic rites, the Gallican rites, the liturgies of St Basil and St Chrysostom. The 1549 *BCP* favoured by the Manchester Nonjuror, had a double epiclesis. This included a prayer for the elements. Perhaps their early association with the Nonjuror led Wesley to include that particular epiclesis in their Eucharistic hymns. Wesley would have been aware of the tradition of double epiclesis from their own reading of the Eastern liturgies. As seen above Selleck comments that Wesley had knowledge of Orthodox liturgies as well as Collier's *Reasons for Restoring some Prayer* (1717), having read the book on the voyage to Georgia.⁸⁶³

⁸⁶¹ White, 1991, p. 21.

⁸⁶² Patrick McGoldrick, 'The Holy Spirit and the Eucharist', in *Irish Theological Quarterly* (Kildare: St Patrick's College, Volume 50/1, 1983/4), p.54.

⁸⁶³ Selleck, 1983, pp. 117-8

There were six Wesleyan Eucharistic hymns which included the *epiclesis*. Some prayed for the effects of the divine descent on the sacrament for the people – for ‘inner witness’ to Calvary’s event⁸⁶⁴ for Christ to be seen, his love to be experienced⁸⁶⁵ and for contrition⁸⁶⁶. *HLS* 150 includes a prayer for the people’s sanctification. One was a prayer for the Spirit to descend on the elements⁸⁶⁷ making them ‘channels’ to convey his love. The metabolist slant present in the liturgy of St Chrysostom where the Spirit was asked to ‘make this bread... the Body of thy Christ, changing it ...’⁸⁶⁸ was not found in Wesley theology.

As seen above in this chapter, Wesley held that there is no inherent power in the elements. The elements, like the ‘hem of Jesus’ garment’ which the women touched⁸⁶⁹ or the rock which Moses struck, are arbitrary instruments⁸⁷⁰. The *epiclesis* is what makes the common elements a meal for the church. There is no substantial change in the elements. They are changed, given perhaps relative holiness, in so far as they are now become special conduits of his love.⁸⁷¹ Nevertheless, ‘the sign transmits the signified, the grace is by the means applied’⁸⁷². In contrast, the reformer Zwingli was fearful even about linking the Spirit to the sacraments. He had insisted that the Spirit does not need any channels, although he is free to use whatever he wishes, including the sacraments, on the sense of those with faith⁸⁷³. Wesley was not afraid to link the Spirit with the sacrament nor, even more narrowly, the elements, again we see the ‘God-ward’ focus of Wesley. Instead of concentration on arguments having to do with human concerns and involvement and what constitutes consecration and when the elements consecrated Wesley centred his attention on the one who consecrates: the Spirit of God. In the end, what matters to them is that God

⁸⁶⁴ *HLS* 7/1 Cf 16/1, 2; 75/3.

⁸⁶⁵ *HLS* 53//3; 72/1, 2.

⁸⁶⁶ *HLS* 151.

⁸⁶⁷ *HLS* 72.

⁸⁶⁸ Clarke, 1964, p.119.

⁸⁶⁹ Wesley, 1745, p. 8.

⁸⁷⁰ Rattenbury, 1948.p.30.

⁸⁷¹ *HLS* 57/2. Cf. 92/6.

⁸⁷² *HLS* 71/1. Cf. *HLS* 89/4.

⁸⁷³ Stephens, 1986, p.186-7, 191-2.

authenticates the sign⁸⁷⁴.

Wesley included the *epiclesis* in the *HLS* when his church removed it from the *BCP*. We observed that Wesley had not just one but several *epiclesis*. There is a possibility that the *epiclesis* was located after the words of institution in the Methodist service. If so, this points to an understanding which gives the Spirit a principal role in the Eucharist. The great attention Wesley gave to the role of the Spirit in the *HLS* contrasted not only with Brevint's text but also with the Western Eucharistic tradition. It is true that Wesley had the insights of people like those who stressed the role of the spirit in the sacrament. Calvin believed in the role of the Spirit, especially in connecting the worshippers to Christ in the sacrament. Communion with the body of Christ according to Calvin is

Effected through the descent of the Holy Spirit, by whom our souls are lifted up to heaven, there to partake of the life transfused into us from the flesh of Christ.⁸⁷⁵

Calvin also remarked that

No light insult is offered to the Spirit if we refuse to believe that it is by His incomprehensible power that we communicate in the body and blood of Christ.⁸⁷⁶

Other than the disagreement Wesley would have with his use of spatial language to locate Christ, the believer and the Spirit, there would be no disagreement about the vital role the Spirit plays in the sacrament. Alongside Wesley others within the Church of England such as Taylor and Thorndike and the Anglican divines argued that the Spirit was central to the life of faith and the working of the sacrament.⁸⁷⁷ Yet the strong emphasis Wesley placed on the role of the Spirit raises the question of his motivation?' Could it be that Wesley intended the

⁸⁷⁴ *HLS* 11/4, 153/1.

⁸⁷⁵ Wallace, 1953, p. 206.

⁸⁷⁶ *Institutes*, Vol 4, 17:33.

⁸⁷⁷ Stevenson 1994, p.174.

Eucharist to be God-orientated rather than human-orientated, i.e. it is seen more as God's action (in this case, the work of the Third Person of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit) rather than ours? Believers simply present their gifts and themselves. They ask for the Spirit of God to do something with their offering. Without the Holy Spirit, nothing happens. The Spirit is the one who needs to act. If this was Wesley's motivation, Wesley succeeded in affirming loudly and clearly one of the three key Wesleyan Eucharistic themes: God's initiating, sustaining and active grace.

In the west, especially in the Roman tradition, a priest in *personal Christi* says the formula for consecration and it is said to have taken place. The Eucharist seems to be more institutionalised and static in that the focus is more on ordered action in response to a past commandment. Wesley was quoted as having said this:

Settle this in your heart, that the *opus operatum*, the mere work done, profiteth nothing; that there is no power to save, but in the Spirit of God, no merit, but in the Blood of Christ; so that consequently, even what God ordains, conveys no grace to the soul, if you trust not in Him alone...⁸⁷⁸

In place of this static picture, Wesley placed the Holy Spirit at the Heart of the happening. Consecration is understood to take place by the direct, immediate action of the free spirit of God descending upon the offerings of the elements and of the people. The dynamism of the event cannot be missed. In terms of time, the focus is not on a past institution. It is on the 'nowness', the freshness, the 'present-ness' of the event. There is an open-endedness about this approach and the Spirit is free to do what he will. This ties in with and underlines Wesley's teaching about the dynamic and personal presence of Christ which we have seen earlier in this chapter.⁸⁷⁹ This again emphasises the theme of the pro-active, initiating grace of God.

⁸⁷⁸ Sermon 16.

⁸⁷⁹ Wesley used the images of the Holy Spirit for Christ and vice versa (Cf. Christ's ascension and prayers to the 'eternal Spirit, gone up on high'. In *HLS* 112/1 and 'the Spirit of his love' *HLS* 93/4)

2.6. The eschatological dimension

Wesley's understanding of eschatological theology of the Holy Communion would be the well-known covenant service on New Year's Day. Wesley observed a linear time-bound event which drives home his mortality and the provisional nature of all things. Here at the Table time is transcended as the 'veil' of time past is pushed aside and he encountered Christ interceding for him. Here he pleaded the effects of this sacrifice and the reality of the words 'heaven and thou (Christ) are one' at the Table.⁸⁸⁰ The covenant service simply emphasises what is true.

Wesley used several words to describe this 'already' and 'not yet' nature of the sacrament. Three of the most used were: earnest⁸⁸¹, Veil⁸⁸², and taste⁸⁸³. Quantitatively, these words indicate 'partial-ness' and 'incompleteness'. The mystery and a taste await the full meal⁸⁸⁴. Wainwright commented that Wesley more than Brevint used the word 'taste' with regard to the Eucharist. The word is 'much rarer in Eucharistic liturgies and theologies than one might have expected' but he added that it had the value of undeniably expressing the relationship between the 'already' and the 'not yet'.⁸⁸⁵ The fourth word used is pledge⁸⁸⁶.

Wesley, like as Brevint, was more concerned with the divine action in the sacrament than Zwingli. The Eucharist is presented as God's guarantee of his faithfulness, so needed by us this side of eternity. The idea of pledge is a terminal image in their understanding. A pledge has to be return to him who gave it on that day. It would no longer be needed then.⁸⁸⁷

Issues like sacrifice and the mode of Christ's presence at the sacrament took centre stage

⁸⁸⁰ *Collection* 493/6.

⁸⁸¹ *HLS* 103/2

⁸⁸² *HLS* 44/4, 93/1.

⁸⁸³ *HLS* 101/1.

⁸⁸⁴ Brevint, 1673, pp.56-7.

⁸⁸⁵ Wainwright, 1978, p. 196.

⁸⁸⁶ *HLS* 100/2-3.

⁸⁸⁷ *HLS* 111/3. 100/5. Cf., *HLS* 12/4.

until *HLS* was published.⁸⁸⁸ Indeed, Wesley called communion as the ‘Supper of the Lamb’ which we begin ‘in faith’ to eat.⁸⁸⁹ It is ‘the type of the heavenly banquet’.⁸⁹⁰

The provisional nature of the Eucharist, the time-transcending ‘realised eschatology’ served as a source of assurance as well as a promise of hope for believers. Assurance with Wesley is in the gift of the sacrament, the sign of his faithfulness and the Table of his promised presence. The hope is in the coming ‘Marriage Feast’⁸⁹¹, where sadness and sorrow will be no more reign His image, rise to his stature⁸⁹², i.e. be fully the whole persons which God had intended us to be. There, united with those above⁸⁹³, our ‘elder brethren’⁸⁹⁴ and the martyrs⁸⁹⁵, ‘perfected into one’ with them⁸⁹⁶, we join the camp of heaven, both saints (‘church triumphant’) and angels⁸⁹⁷ singing and celebrating. There will be much joy, love and praise as we banquet on his richest love⁸⁹⁸. Such is the glory to come, the ecstasies unknown⁸⁹⁹. When and how that will be, we cannot foresee⁹⁰⁰ but it will come. Wesley expected it to be sudden with apocalyptic effects on the world⁹⁰¹. Less traumatically, the individual’s communion with the divine is seen as growing until ‘the Ray shall rise into a Sun, the Drop shall swell into a Sea’⁹⁰².

Nourish us to that awful day
When types and veils shall pass away,
And perfect grace in glory end;

⁸⁸⁸ Wainwright, 1978, p.56.

⁸⁸⁹ *HLS* 97. Cf., *HLS* 111.

⁸⁹⁰ *HLS* 107/1.

⁸⁹¹ *HLS* 114/7.

⁸⁹² *HLS* 102/3. Cf., *HLS* 111/2.

⁸⁹³ *HLS* 165/4.

⁸⁹⁴ *HLS* 98/7.

⁸⁹⁵ *HLS* 106.

⁸⁹⁶ *HLS* 104/2.

⁸⁹⁷ *HLS* 105, 106.

⁸⁹⁸ *HLS* 93/2.

⁸⁹⁹ *HLS* 101/4.

⁹⁰⁰ *HLS* 156/6.

⁹⁰¹ *HLS* 93/2,3; 98/6.

⁹⁰² *HLS* 101/4.

Us for the marriage feast prepare,
Unfurl Thy banner in the air,
And bid Thy saints to heaven ascend.⁹⁰³

Wesley's Eucharistic theology has within its eschatology and provides assurance of God's faithfulness. It gives hope for the future. The healing has begun and will be completed. One of the strongest themes which bursts out of the Eucharistic hymns is that joy. The Sermon on the Means of Grace, the supper of the Lord is a place that 'God conveys into our souls all that spiritual grace, that righteousness, and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost'.⁹⁰⁴ There are at least forty-two words with references to joy/enjoy, happiness and cheer/cheerfully in the *HLS*.⁹⁰⁵ There are present in about 25 per cent of the 166 *HLS*. This is in direct contrast with the communion liturgy found in the 1662 *BCP* which can be accused of displaying a noticeable lack of eschatological themes as well as being inordinately penitential in tone. The feature of joy can be described as one of the unique contributions of Wesley's Eucharistic theology. It must be remarked that although Wesley wrote and preached about what are traditionally termed as 'the Last Things' heaven and hell, death, judgment, resurrection, not much of what he mentioned about these themes (with the exception of heaven with themes like reunion with others who share the faith, celebrative feasting, removal of pain and suffering, enjoyment of God's presence) is directly linked to the Eucharist. That he believed in the existence of hell, the wrath of God against sin and sinners, the resurrection of the body, there can be no doubt.⁹⁰⁶ There are hints of judgment in the *HLS* 98/4: 'the judge in glory come' and 98/6 '... deepest red, Dies the land and fires the

⁹⁰³ *HLS* 44/4.

⁹⁰⁴ Sermon 16.

⁹⁰⁵ Cf. joy/joyful: 28times *HLS* 9/4' 10/3; 11/2; 21/1; 56/4; 81/2; 91/3; 92/4; 43/3(2times); 95/4; 99/3; 102/1; 109/1; 112/1; 115/2; 116/4; 125/4; 130/3; 157/4; 158/3; 160/1,5; 162/2; 164/8; happy/enjoy: 8times 4/3; 11/2; 96/1; 98/8; 102/3; 108/2; 113/2; 155/5; cheer/cheerfulness: 6times 9/1; 61/3; 62/2; 86/6; 158/2; 160/1. (Cf. Khoo, 2005, p.103)

⁹⁰⁶ Wesley was aware of the fear of hell (Cf., *Journal* 30/12/1742). He warned people about the place (*Journal* 6/4/1772; 22/4/1772) and of God's judgment (*Sermon* 15; 18; 818). He was more concerned to invite people through the mercy and love of God than to dangle them over hell (*Sermon* 15). Both Wesley brothers were very interested in death: their lives were constantly threatened, they had ample interaction with dying people (Cf. *Journal* 3/11/1738) and they collected death-bed stories.

wood Turns the oceans into blood.'

Also there are very mild allusions to resurrection: 'suffering and curse and death are o'er' (*HLS* 93/4). Since death is not a strong theme in Wesley's Eucharistic theology, the hope of resurrection fails to stand out as strongly as one would expect. What Wainwright observed about the approach of *HLS* 40/1 could be true of Wesley's Eucharistic theology. Wainwright said:

An advantage of this approach (which focuses on the eucharist as food for eternal life) is that it may express continuity and growth in the eternal life which Christ already gives and which will be perfected in heaven; but it leaves out of account the element of rupture that is represented by human death and by the expected resurrection and judgement at the *parousia* of Christ.⁹⁰⁷

Having looked at the three key themes of Wesley's Eucharistic theology - the dynamic encounter with the presence of Christ, the tremendous grace of God and the Eucharist as a joyous therapeutic sacrament we understand why the Methodist revival was not just an evangelical but also a Eucharistic one which is why true Christians repeat it as the perpetual culture. Wesley wrote polemically against the Roman Church. Meanwhile, the reformers did not do much to restore the teaching of the Eucharist for the eternal kingdom. A Wesleyan scholar, Wainwright concluded that 'the Eucharist confirms a particular eschatological schema in so far as that schema takes accounts of the following points...':

1. Eschatology contains as polarity of the 'already' and the 'not yet'
2. Eschatology concerns the individual in community
3. Eschatology implies both a divine gift and its human appropriation
4. Eschatology embraces the material as well as the spiritual
5. Eschatology is universal in scope

⁹⁰⁷ Wainwright, 1978, p. 111.

6. Eschatology allows progress in the establishment of the kingdom
7. Eschatology includes a moment of judgment and renewal

Wainwright also argued that the Eschatological Eucharist has three characteristics: a taste of the kingdom, a sign of the kingdom, and an image of the kingdom.⁹⁰⁸

Indeed, one may recognise a Wesleyan theology of Eucharist with regard to eschatology. It is rare to find negative or dark expressions like destruction and judgment. It might avoid that side intentionally or otherwise. Wesley might prefer bright hope to dark fear in faithful life. Wesley was an affirmative liturgist.

Part III

Decline and Renewal after Wesley

⁹⁰⁸ Ibid., pp.147-154.

Chapter 1. Decline in Eucharist after Wesley's death to today

Wesley governed the widespread Methodist fellowship with autocratic authority during his lifetime. When Wesley died on 2/3/1792, he left a Connexion of 72,476 members with many more advocates in and outside UK. The term 'Connexion' was different from 'sect' or 'society'. Bowmer defines the connexion as 'a number of societies who have agreed to unite themselves in a common bond of doctrine and discipline, under a common code of regulations and usages and under a common government'.⁹⁰⁹ The size of the Connexion had already expanded much like an independent denomination. Wesley wanted the Connexion to remain as part of the Anglican Church as a mission institute/group but the question of ongoing leadership within the Connexion presented a problem. By the end of his lifetime there were no appropriate candidates to take over his position. In the 1780's, towards the end of Wesley's life the Methodist movement in and outside Britain had lost many people who might have been suitable successors to Wesley.⁹¹⁰ This led to a period of

⁹⁰⁹ J.C.Bowmer, *Pastor and People*, (Epworth Press, 1969), p. 186.

⁹¹⁰ In 1780s, Wesley's desperate sorrows of the dearest of his friends: Ebenezer Blackwell died in

chaos with unsolved issues and struggles. One problem related to the ongoing relationship with the Anglican Church after 1784.⁹¹¹ On the other hand, the right of the laity in Methodist was one of the major issues between the clergy and the laity.

1. Pastoral problems for the Eucharist

1.1. Struggles regarding Ordinations in the Anglican Church

One of the most difficult problems related to ordination. This problem arose from Wesley's 1784 decision to ordain a passionate lay missionary, Francis Asbury (August 20, 1745 – March 31, 1816), for missionary work in America.⁹¹² Although Wesley strongly requested Asbury's ordination the Bishop of London refused. Eventually Wesley conferred ordination upon such men as he judged fit for his purpose. He chose his most able assistant, Coke, and determined to send him to America with extraordinary powers.

1782, John Fletcher and Perronet in 1785; and his brother Charles in 1788 it was with the time of comfortable mission harvests: visited Holland twice, in 1783 and in 1786; Ireland from 29th March to 12th July 1789(including Dublin Conference, 3rd July).

⁹¹¹ Butler analyses that Wesley remained at least four unresolved matters with the Anglican establishment at his death.

'1. The problem of field preaching which Wesley had begun in April 1739 at the request of George Whitefield. Did the Methodists have the right to preach in other men's parishes? A lot of clergymen were annoyed at the trespassing on their pastoral domains.

2. The problem of lay preaching. This began at the Foundery in Moorfields, London, c.1740, and Wesley saw that through lay preachers people were converted. At Wesley's death there were 282 of these, arranged in 'circuits' where they itinerated from place to place. John Wesley once said, 'soul damning clergymen lay me under more difficulties than soul saving layman'. But Episcopal authority did not approve them.

3. The use of Methodist buildings. Were these, such as the Horsefair in Bristol, the Foundery in London and the later Wesley's Chapel in London, really Anglican buildings or were they sectarian? That they were founded with their own model trust deeds seemed to indicate that they were sectarian.

4. Wesley approached the Bishop of London to request him to ordain some of his lay preachers for America where the recent War of Independence had left the Anglicans without pastors. The Bishop refused whereupon Wesley ordained two of his own men for America and set apart another clergyman as a superintendent. He claimed that his authority for doing this was to be found in the history of the early church where 'bishop' and 'presbyter' were the same order of ministry.'(Butler, David, *Dying to be one*, SCM Press, 1996, p.109.)

⁹¹² Francis Asbury went to USA in Oct 1771. He who was only missionary to remain during the Civil war despite a call for back home to the UK never returned for mission work. He had prevailed Wesley that American Methodists had begged for some kind of indulgence which would allow their own preachers to administer the sacraments. Wesley had believed in the sovereignty of the presbyter. Cf.,

On 2th September 1784, Wesley called Coke and two lay preachers, Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey to his rooms in Bristol.⁹¹³ The two preachers were 'set apart' as presbyters, and Coke was ordained to the office of Superintendent of the Societies in America.⁹¹⁴ From this point John Wesley did not hesitate to ordain other men (1785, three preachers from Scotland; 1786 two more for Scotland, one for Antigua, and one for Newfoundland, in 1787, five, 1788 nine and finally in 1789 two more: Thomas Rankin and Henry Moore).⁹¹⁵ That makes a total of twenty-six ordinations. Wesley believed that the ordination for mission in America and elsewhere would link to the truth of Christian history with the celebration of the sacraments.

If he had not resolved the needs of ordained ministers for America, Wesley would have been condemned by Methodists who might believe in the sacraments and the authority of the evangelical dependence on scripture rather than church order. With this process of ordination Wesley revealed how much he affirmed the evangelical leadership in Methodists although he was condemned by the Anglicans and even some Methodists.

When Wesley died, he did not hand over leadership of the Connexion to single person. Instead power was granted to the 100 trustees whom Wesley had appointed.⁹¹⁶ The trustees met and sought to resolve the struggle over ordination with the Anglicans. No one in the trustees could control emerging disagreements within the Connexion.⁹¹⁷ In the

⁹¹³ Journal 2/9/1784; Baker, 1970, p. 266; Cf., Rack, 1992, pp. 506-534.

⁹¹⁴ After Thomas Coke reached America, Coke was to ordain Asbury as Associate Superintendent. America societies became the Methodist Episcopal Church in Dec 1784.

⁹¹⁵ Baker, 1970, p.281; Rack, 1992,p.520.

⁹¹⁶ It is supposed that why Wesley did not point the leadership after his death was for at least two reasons. The one was there was not trustable and outstanding person who was respected by the whole Methodists who had different views as to how to relate to Anglicans and the issue of ordination he did. Which was he did not expect the separation during his life as well as even after. On the other hand, he would expect the trustees who would resolve it with a certain way after his death. But it did not happen as the expected scenario.

⁹¹⁷ Although Wesley intended to point a few leaders: George Whitefield, John Fletcher, all of them rejected and died earlier than his brother Charles.

Connexion there were clearly different views and attitudes.

1.1.1. Three groups in Connexion

The secession in Methodism was led by Alexander Kilham (born at Epworth, Lincolnshire, 20 July 1762-1798), and resulted from a struggle in terms of the rights of the laity particularly.

In fact, the tension was revealed in the conference of Manchester on 26th July 1791 where it became clear that there were at least three groups which reflected different approaches to relations with the Anglicans.

The first group, (Bowmer called them the Church Party⁹¹⁸) of stewards, leaders, and trustees was mainly from Hull. They expressed the opinion that ‘the usefulness of Methodism had been and will be greatly increased by their continuance with the Church of England’. They continued, ‘we cannot content to have the sacrament administrated amongst us by the Methodist preacher, not to have preaching in the Methodist chapels during the hours of Divine service in the Church’. Similar opinions came from Birmingham and Sheffield.⁹¹⁹ This group saw Methodism as a group within the Anglican Church and reflected a more political high church view.⁹²⁰

The second group was more hostile to the Anglican Church. Alexander Kilham(1762-1798) with the approval of some senior preachers published a letter⁹²¹ which reminded people that the Methodist people desired the freedom to receive the sacraments from their preachers ‘in those places where the ministers(i.e. the clergy) neither preach nor live the gospel’.⁹²² In fact this issue was predicted during Wesley’s lifetime. In 1766, Wesley himself had anticipated a connexional crisis between Methodists. Wesley was aware of a desire for,

⁹¹⁸ Bowmer, 1961, *The Lord’s Supper in Methodism 1791-1960*, p. 18.

⁹¹⁹ Ibid., p.19.

⁹²⁰ Great Queen Street Chapel, London, provides an example of what happened in a society where the Church Party was in power. Cf. Bowmer, 1961, p.18.

⁹²¹ A pamphlet 1795 “Progress of Liberty”

⁹²² Bowmer, 1961, p. 19.

a free conference; that is, a meeting of the preachers, wherein all things shall be determined by most votes.... It is possible, after my death, something of this kind may take place. But not while I live. To me the preachers have engaged themselves to submit, and to 'serve me as sons in the gospel'... To me the people in general will submit. But they will not yet submit to any other.⁹²³

The third group was made up of ordinary Methodists who seemed quiet in contrast with the other two groups even though they were numerically the vast majority of the Methodist people. Their wish was to worship in peace without political struggles.

1.1.1.1. Plan of Pacification

Such struggles arrived at the annual conference in 1795. Controversies regarding Eucharistic issues between Methodists and Anglican resulted in the "Plan of Pacification".⁹²⁴ This granted the right of administering the sacraments to all churches in which the majority of the trustees, stewards, and leaders pronounced in favour of such practice. It allowed all preachers (ordained or un-ordained) to celebrate under certain circumstances, e.g. where there were strong local demands for the preacher to do.⁹²⁵ But it did not work properly in local situations. Some members did not accept the statement. For instance, some Bristol members did not accept the decision of "Plan of Pacification".Pine became bitter about the outcome of the dispute. The rules of Conference were being broken. They felt betrayed and abandoned. "The Plan of Pacification" became meaningless, almost a sham, because the statement was not kept even between Methodists.

⁹²³ Minutes of Wesleyan Conference, 1812 ed., I (1766), p.60.

⁹²⁴ It allowed the Eucharist to be administered wherever a majority of Trustees and Leaders were in favour of it. The service was to be conducted according to the form of the Established Church, but hymns and extempore prayer could be introduced at the discretion of the minister.

⁹²⁵ Rattenbury, 1948, pp. 135-136.

The Conference also faced another unsolved issue regarding relationships with Anglicanism and ordination in the Anglican Church. When the statement was made it meant that there was a wide gap between the Methodists and the Anglicans over permission for lay people to administer the sacrament in spite of the fact that this should only be 'under certain circumstance[s]'. By then separation from the Church of England was almost complete. Pine attests to the point in relation, noting disagreement amongst the Trustees. There was no unanimity about having preaching in Church hours and receiving the sacrament but these went ahead unchallenged. For example, there was a serious struggle among Methodists in Bristol. There were never more than 400 at the Portland Chapel. They had built a new chapel (i.e. Ebenezer) to rival the New Room, whose rooms provide better facilities for weeknight services. It meant that people at Portland Chapel did not want involvement in the Anglican Church. By the end of 1796 Pine despaired of the two parties ever uniting in Bristol again, once the District Meeting had again approved the action of Bradford, the District chairman, in opening the new chapel and holding services in Church hours.⁹²⁶

It is easy to imagine the attitude that Anglicans towards Methodists. The Anglicans did not accept the certificate of ordination by Wesley and celebration of sacraments by the unordained laity. It was so strict that Methodists would have had to give up in staying in the Anglican Church. Inevitably, the Methodists had to decide whether to stay in the Anglican Church or to disperse without rearranging.⁹²⁷ This mode continued for a few years.

1.1.2. Leadership of the Laity

Meanwhile the situation regarding views of ordination and the right of the laity in Methodism was getting worse. For instance in Bristol the figures of the membership of the Bristol

⁹²⁶ Letter of Pine to Benson, 24/10/1796 (*Methodist Church Archives* at John Rylands University Library, Manchester, PLP, 84.7.7, quoted in "*The Sacramental Controversy in Bristol in the 1790s*" an address given by Rev. T.S.A-MacQuiban on 2/3/1991, Wesley Historical Society Bristol Branch, No.60, p.12.

⁹²⁷ Cf. John Munsey Turner, Chapter2 'The Separation of Methodism from the Church of England – the role of John Wesley' (9-29), *Conflict and Recconciliation* (London; Epworth Press), 1985.

Society declined with the loss of 300 members from 1793 to 1797, which suggests that Methodists were sacrificed in the interests of preserving the rights of the people to receive the sacraments from the itinerants.⁹²⁸

In 1797, at the 54th Annual Conference (Leeds), there was an insistent demand from Kilham and his followers for more extensive rights for the laity.⁹²⁹ The question received a temporary and partly favourable answer; "Outlines of a Constitution" were made. This contained various ways respecting the Eucharist, celebrating with 'primitive simplicity', and omitting immoderate poses for receiving the holy elements. This was said to be in imitation of the Lord and his apostles. So those who prefer teaching of Wesley to kneel in their pew or at communion rail were permitted. Admission to the Eucharist was limited to those who sincerely desired to save their souls. Leaders must not give notes of admission to anyone they suspected would dishonour the Eucharist. Yet in this conference Kilham's demand for lay representation was surprisingly refused and Kilham was expelled.⁹³⁰ This led Kilham to found the Methodist New Connexion (known as the Kilhamite Methodists) based around his church in Sheffield on 9th August 1797.⁹³¹

⁹²⁸ Cf. an address given by Rev. T.S.A-MacQuiban on 2/3/1991, "*The Sacramental Controversy in Bristol in the 1790s*", Wesley Historical Society Bristol Branch, No.60.

⁹²⁹ Cf. 'Administration of the Sacrament in the New Connexion', *T. Hannam to Jas. Harrop*; Leeds, 15 September 1797; Reprinted In *the History of Methodist Church in Great Britain*, Vol 4, pp.287-288.

⁹³⁰ There was too much power to the ordained ministers, at the expense of the laity. The Plan of Pacification adopted by the conference in 1795 was not working to solve existing issues. For one regarding the right of the laity, Kilham was expelled from the conference as a "Reform" leader in 1796.

⁹³¹ Its purposes of it were for the democracy of church described as below:

1. Methodists should have the right of holding their public religious worship at such hours as were most convenient, without being restricted to mere intervals of the hours appointed for service at the Established Church.
2. To receive the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper from the hands of their own ministers and in their own places of worship.
3. To stand the laity at a representation in the District Meetings and in the Annual Conference, and thereby participate in the government of the community and in the appropriation of its funds.
4. The right of lay people have opinions, through its local business meetings, in the reception and be dropped from members and in the choice of local officers and the calling out of candidates for the ministry.

It stimulated, and became popular across Britain. At its conferences 1797, ministers and laity were of equal number, the laity being sent by the circuits and in some events by guardian representatives chosen for life by conference. The doctrines and order of the New Connexion were the same as those of the Methodists. It later merged in 1907 with the Bible Christian Church and the United Methodist

In 1801, Adam Clarke (1762-1832) who was ordained by Wesley (1782) celebrated the Eucharist on his own at Portland Chapel, Bristol. It symbolised that the sacramentalists who stressed the communion and preaching service were winning in the struggle between Methodists and Anglicans.⁹³²

In conclusion, about a decade after Wesley's death it is admitted that there was no one who could reconcile the different attitudes towards the relationship with the Anglican Church. In this atmosphere there were no authorities to prevent the founding of the Methodist New Connexion. It can be supposed that problems in Methodism were focused not on Wesley's Eucharistic theology and practice, but pastoral matters.

2. Separations in Methodism to 1932

There were three groups who administered the communion: Anglican priests, Methodist Ministers ordained by Wesley, and the laity who were banned by Wesley but allowed to preside in certain conditional circumstances. Each group had different opinions about two issues. The first was regarding the relationship with the Anglicans – to remain in the Anglican Church or to establish a new Methodist Church. The second issue related to the rights of the laity. The latter caused more serious tension in Methodism than the former. The relationship between them was too complex. For example, some people preferred to receive communion from the Anglican priest but did not want to join in the Anglican Church.

The 'separation' from the Anglicans was a logical outcome of earlier unsolved tensions in Wesley's time. In addition, the name of the Connexion could no longer be used. While some

Free Churches to form the United Methodist Church. In 1907, the Methodist New Connexion had some 250 ministers and 45,000 members.

⁹³² An address given by Rev. T.S.A-MacQuiban on 2/3/1991, *"The Sacramental Controversy in Bristol in the 1790s"*, Wesley Historical Society Bristol Branch, No.60.

left to the Anglican Church, others were arguing about different views on the rights of laity and Methodist ministers who were ordained by Wesley.

The New Connexion became dissenters. It can be said that the separation from the Anglican Church was a result of a long term struggle between Methodists, not within Anglicanism. Wesley tried to remain as an order within the Anglican Church. By contrast, it seems that both the Trustees and the Anglicans did not deal with issues in a mutually respectful and understanding manner.

Thus, unfortunately the different opinions within Methodism could not be reconciled. It seems that they were divided according to their preference of worship style. Some preferred Eucharistic worship and others favoured the preaching worship as evangelical forms. Inevitably people gathered according to their preferences. Even though this was a painful period of divisions for the Methodists, church members in each Methodist groups increased. By 1850, the registered membership of Wesleyan societies in England and Wales was no more than 340,000. The Primitive Methodists numbered (100,000), the Methodist New Connexion (22,000), the Bible Christians (16,000) and the United Free Methodists (40,000). The total is only a little over half a million in a population of almost 18 million. However beyond the figures there were over two million Methodist churchgoers for Census Sunday 1851.⁹³³ They did not have actual membership, but remained within the orbit of Methodism or were influenced by Methodist spirituality. These rising numbers did not relate to an emphasis on the Eucharist. It is said that Methodists attracted those in a mood of moral earnestness.⁹³⁴ On the contrary, there was less emphasis on the Eucharist and the number of Eucharistic services in Methodist meetings even on Sunday services and in hymnbooks declined remarkably.

⁹³³ Stuart Andrew, *Methodism and Society* (Longman Group Ltd; London, 1970), P.87.

⁹³⁴ Cf. Ibid., p. 70. 'In a review of *Cause of the Increase of Methodism and Dissension*(1808)by Robert Ingram, B.D., Sydney Smith cited extracts from the *Evangelical Magazine* and the *Methodist Magazine*'

In the second Half of 19th century, there seemed to be no further division of Methodists in the UK; instead the whole trend had moved towards reunion. At the Wesleyan conference in 1878, suggestions for a Conference of World Methodism were made by American delegates. The first Methodist Ecumenical Conference met at City Road Chapel in September, 1881. Yet the Methodist Church in the UK underwent a time of historical tumult. Throughout the industrial revolution, the sharp growth of church members and world mission was followed by the hard time of the First World War and social and political difficulties in the early 20th century. Naturally the spiritual and cultural landscape changed, resulting in a change of attitude to the sacrament within the atmosphere of the ecumenical and liturgical movement. In September, 1932 the three main Methodist churches (the Wesleyans, the Primitives and the United Methodists) united.⁹³⁵ The churches clearly agreed with Wesley's Eucharistic theology and practice which was adopted in the new church. But the long term Eucharistic controversies since Wesley and the time of Methodist separations revealed how much they were discussing a concern of Wesley's Eucharistic life.

Sunday services in local churches had a deep mixture of theological practices influenced by other theologians. For instance, the local churches did not stress the frequent Eucharist of Wesley's statement but were closer to Calvinism or the Zwinglians. Davies indicate that it was also the case that in the late 19th century in the UK the 'supernaturalism' of Calvinism (and of Wesley regarding the experience at the Table) became 'less congenial to the spirit of the age' than Zwinglianism with its more 'cerebral inclinations'. The spiritual and social impact of the non-sacramental Salvation Army and the Quakers led many to question if the sacrament was that crucial to living a truly spiritual life. The focus of communion became more inclined towards the horizontal dimension - more a meal of fellowship and brotherhood.

⁹³⁵ Cf. A.W. Harrison (Wesleyan), B.Aquila Barber (Primitive Methodist), G.G. Hornby (United Methodist), E.Tegla Davies(Welsh Wesleyan), *The Methodist Church Its Origin, Divisions, And Reunion* (London: Methodist Publishing House, Edgar C. Barton, 25-35 City Road, E.C.1; Holborn Publishing House, Ernest Barrett, Holborn Hall, E.C.1; Henry Hooks, 12 Farringdon Avenue, E.C.4, 1932)

Methodists also became increasingly cautious about the centrality of the Eucharist in their tradition as they observed the rise of the sacramentally inclined Oxford Movement where many were led to embrace the Roman Catholic faith.⁹³⁶

3. Reduced concern on Eucharistic hymnals

The use of Wesley's Eucharistic hymns declined in the late nineteenth century. Wakefield noticed that,

The Catholic revival which thrust Methodist into the Free Church camp, and their discovery by Anglo-Catholic controversialists, who gave them a Roman Catholic interpretations.⁹³⁷

This atmosphere of the Oxford Movement influenced the popularity and use of the *HLS*, a key source of Eucharistic piety among Methodists with ten editions by 1790. The use of the *HLS* declined remarkably. The *HLS* was not published again until 1875, and then by a group of Anglo-Catholics.⁹³⁸

According to recent studies of fourteen representative hymnbooks from the British and the United Methodist Churches, there has not been a recovery of Wesley's Eucharistic fervour yet. For instance, in the United States the UMC points to the decreased use of Eucharistic hymnals: 15 (1786), 29 (1847), 23(1849), 14(1878), 18(1899), 2(1902), 1(1935), 4(1966), 2(1989).⁹³⁹ This suggests that the emphasis placed on the Eucharist within the UMC has continued to decline. A contrasting case is seen in the recent British Methodist Hymnbook (*Singing the Faith*, published in September 2011). It seems that this book has

⁹³⁶ Davies, 1996, p. 83-84. The Oxford movement started in Lincoln College, Oxford. John Wesley's teaching was strongly influenced by the Nonjurors who were at that college during Wesley time.

⁹³⁷ Dudley, 1995, p. 195.

⁹³⁸ Hoskins, 1994, p. 73.

⁹³⁹ Wainwright, 1995, pp. xi-xii.

endeavoured to enrich Methodism's distinctive musical inheritance by including hymns from the worldwide Church alongside the classic, best well-known hymns of the church tradition. A large proportion of its 830 hymns are 20th and 21st century compositions. It reflects various occasions in worship and ministry. Its 44 Eucharistic chants include 9 from Charles Wesley.⁹⁴⁰ It reflects the shift in theological expressions, language and the musical taste of congregations. Perhaps another reason was that Charles Wesley's creative and colourful English did not prove very translatable into languages native to places where Methodism had taken root and flourished around the world.

4. Contemporary deviations from Wesley's Sunday Eucharistic service

Today there are potential signs of a Eucharistic revival inside the church and outside. Since the Liturgical movement in the early 20th century there have been great attempts to recover Eucharistic fervour in worship. Chapman points out that since the Liturgical movement there have been enormous changes in the format of Methodist worship, especially since the 1960's. There have been many publications regarding Wesley's Eucharistic theology and ministry. One example of this is the Sunday service. Most British Methodist churches have Communion once per month. Some churches have the Eucharist every Sunday at a 9:00 service or at an evening service, not the main 10:30 service.⁹⁴¹ There may be many reasons for the less focused Eucharistic service such as trends relating to church worship background, the lack of ministers, different views of Eucharistic theology and different local political, social and educational backgrounds. This declining interest in Eucharistic ministry is revealed not only in Britain but across world Methodism. It may be natural therefore that there has been a reduction on the use of Eucharistic chants for use by communicants and in studies even between ministers.

⁹⁴⁰ *Singing the Faith*, (Methodist Church, 2011).

⁹⁴¹ David M. Chapman, *Born in Song Methodist Worship in Britain* (Warrington; Church in Market place, 2006), p. 1.

For instance, North America has been a major influence in Methodist world mission particularly since the second half of 19th century. There have been churches planted in new mission fields by North America missionaries who stress the evangelical format of preaching service rather than the spirituality of Wesley's Eucharistic theology and practice. There are several reasons for this. The first historical was that the vastness of the North American terrain meant that Methodist circuit riders had to cover large areas to minister to scattered settlers. Eucharistic worship therefore was rare, limited to special services held usually four times a year when the presiding elder would be present at a quarterly conference.⁹⁴² This may have caused the missionaries to follow the customs of their mother church which emphasised an evangelical service on Sundays in the new mission field instead of the exact Methodist tradition of Wesley's Eucharistic Sunday service. Most protestant American Methodist missionaries to Korea in the 20th century, for instance, stressed evangelical worship forms rather than Eucharistic meetings. Therefore many Korean Methodists do not understand the origins or basis of Wesley's Eucharistic theology and practice. The early missionaries from America were influenced by the features of Puritanism, pietism and evangelism.⁹⁴³ However they did not stress the Eucharistic Table, but inward proof. And today the majority of Korean Methodist churches follow some form of the preaching service. Some ministers recognised the needs of recovery of Eucharistic worship.⁹⁴⁴

There have developed questions: 'Does this lessened understanding of Wesley's Eucharistic theology and practice reflect no training in theological college to candidate ministers or the local context?' it may be mixed reasons together. If this is the case how can Wesley's Eucharistic theology and practice be recovered or re-created today, by whom and in what contexts?

⁹⁴² Littrell, 1995, pp. 27-28.

⁹⁴³ Cf. Baek, Nak-Jun, *The Early Korean Protestant Church History 1832-1910* (Seoul: YonSei University Press, 1973). This is written in Korean

⁹⁴⁴ Cf. Ga, Heung-Soon, *The Eucharist and Worship Revival* (YeoMyung, 2009). This is written in Korean.

First of all, within Methodism it is particular, church ministers who are authorised to preside at the Eucharist and have a responsibility to teach and train church members.

Chapter 2. Renewal of Eucharistic concerns

In the early 20th century there was a certain turning point of Eucharistic revival across world churches, called the Liturgical movement. For over a century the churches have tried to recover the Eucharistic life, not only Methodists but the wider Christian world. As a result, there was the *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry (BEM, 1982)* proclamation by World Council of Church in 1982, which still represents the agreed statement of many Christian churches⁹⁴⁵; including the Methodists, Anglicans, Lutherans, Catholics and the Eastern Orthodox.

1. Liturgical movement

Late in the 19th century there were many missionaries in a mission field from different

⁹⁴⁵ *BEM* explores the growing agreements as well as the remaining differences in fundamental areas of the churches' faith and orders according to denominations. *BEM* has become the most widely-distributed and studied ecumenical document. The response from the British Methodist Church to this text is to be found in *Statements and Reports of the Methodist Church on Faith and Order* (British Methodist Church, 2000), Volume One(1933-1983) and Volume Two(Part one 1984-2000; Part two 1984-2000), , Cf. in particular, Volume Two, Part one, p.412- 'BRITISH METHODIST RESPONSE TO THE LIMA TEXT (1985)'.

churches in different countries. They had different understanding of Eucharistic theology and practice. More and more missionaries felt the need for certain outlines between missionaries at least relating to 'Faith and order' which could identify the Christian community for natives in the mission fields. First of all they were interested in liturgy that is why it is called liturgical movement. The first conference was held in Edinburgh in 1911. Since then, the meetings have continued and the themes have become bigger and wider, so called as the ecumenical movement. The Amsterdam Conference (1948) gave birth to the World Council of Churches (WCC) which affirmed that Mission is only possible by God's Work – '*Missio Dei*'.⁹⁴⁶ They adopted the same definition of 'Church' as Wesley and the Church of the fourth century' drawing on the *Nicene Creed* as a good definition.⁹⁴⁷ Today the Britain Methodist Church has agreed with the ecumenical definition of the Church as 'one, holy, catholic and apostolic'.⁹⁴⁸ In other words, the Church on earth is people called in the 'one, holy, catholic and apostolic'. How should a Church of mission act visibly toward the world? The sacraments form a basic element of this mission and for Wesley an essential element of Christian culture.

In the liturgical/ecumenical movement throughout the 20th century churches reconfirmed the position of the sacraments within the church and its mission. At last, the WCC achieved remarkable documentary progress that agrees with the one of 'Doing of God' through the

⁹⁴⁶ *Missio Dei* (can be translated as the "sending or doing of God.") can be understood as being derived from the very nature of God. The missionary initiative comes from God alone not from human church. See Jürgen Moltmann, *The Church in the Power of the Spirit: A Contribution to Messianic Ecclesiology* (London: SCM Press, 1977), p. 64.); David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1991), pp.389–90.

⁹⁴⁷ AT & RPC Hanson, '3.An Ecclesiology for today' (40-68) in *The Identity of the Church* (SCM Press, 1987)

⁹⁴⁸ 'The Church is one because God is one. ... The basis of the Church's unity is God's own being and grace, which may contain within itself a very rich diversity. Second, the Church is holy because it belongs to God who is holy. ... Third, the Church is catholic because there is one universal God, who has declared his love for all creation in Jesus Christ. So the Church embraces all nations and all peoples without regard to human distinctions of class or tribe, colour of race, gender or sexuality, poverty or riches. ... the two meaning of 'catholic', 'universal' and 'authentic', are closely related. The Church is apostolic, insofar as it sustains continuity with Jesus through his apostles and their successors, for God expressed himself through Jesus who sent out his apostles to preach and live the gospel message.' (*Statements and Reports of the Methodist Church on Faith and Order 1984-2000* (2000 Trustees for Methodist Church Purposes). pp. 20-21.

Eucharist which is called 'Lima document' (*Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry-BEM*, 1982).⁹⁴⁹

2. BEM

BEM states that the Church represents the visible culture of Christianity. It is rooted in the New Testament.

To progress the agreement of *BEM* there were several issues regarding the Eucharist; for instance, the question of Christ's 'real presence' at the Table, or debates about whether the meal is better understood as a way of remembering what God has done for us in Jesus Christ,⁹⁵⁰

The *BEM* explored the relationship between three terms: "Memorial", "Real presence", and "Sacrifice. Basically five agreed meanings of Eucharist in *BEM* should be noted

First, Eucharist is seen as Thanksgiving to the Father. The primary purpose of sacraments is to thank the creator, Father God who plans and promised the salvation through Christ for humans who worship Him.

"... thanksgiving to the Father for everything accomplished in creation, redemption and sanctification, for everything accomplished by God now in the Church and in the world in spite of the sins of human beings, ... Thus the Eucharist is the benediction (berakah) by which the Church expresses its thankfulness for all God's benefits. ... The Eucharist is the great sacrifice of praise by which the Church speaks on behalf of the whole creation. For the world which God has reconciled is present at every Eucharist: ... Christ unites the faithful with

⁹⁴⁹ Geoffrey Wainwright is an expert in Eucharist, He is a Methodist Minister and before he became the chair of WCC in 1982, he studied the Eucharist then wrote books such as *Eucharist and Eschatology* (London; Epworth Press, 1971) and book, *Doxology: The Praise of God in Worship, Doctrine and life: Systematic Theology* (London, Epworth Press, 1980).

⁹⁵⁰ Michael Kinnamon, *Why it matters*, p. 25

himself and includes their prayers within his own intercession.”⁹⁵¹

Second, Eucharist is seen as Anamnesis or the Memorial of Christ. At the Table Christians obey Jesus’ commands as they remember the crucified and risen Christ and the sign of Jesus’ sacrifice, accomplished once on the cross and still active on behalf of all humankind. The scriptural meaning of memorial as applied to communion effects ideas about God’s presence. The Eucharist represents a solemn memorial of Christ’s unique sacrifice.

“It is the memorial of all that God has done for the salvation of the world. What it was God’s will to accomplish in the incarnation, life, death, resurrection and ascension of Christ, God does not repeat. These events are unique and can neither be repeated nor prolonged.”⁹⁵²

As seen in 2.1 and 2.2, Chapter 2, Part II, Wesley understood the Eucharist as encountering Christ. He stressed the presence of God at the Table. It was compared with others who differed from Wesley and exactly followed Calvin’s theology of Eucharist, the presence of God. Calvin did not observe frequent Eucharist that Wesley did to retain the spiritual growth for Christian perfection.

Third, Eucharist is seen as the Invocation of the Spirit. In prayer the Holy Spirit makes the crucified and risen Christ really present to us in the Eucharistic sharing, fulfilling the promise contained in the words of institution. In the early Eucharist the whole "prayer action" was thought of as bringing about the reality of Holy Spirit promised by Christ. The invocation of the Spirit was made both on the community and on the holy elements of bread and wine. The Holy Spirit through the Eucharist gives communicants a foretaste of the Kingdom of God: the Church receives the life of the new creation and the assurance of the Lord’s

⁹⁵¹ *BEM*, p.10-11.

⁹⁵² *Ibid.*, pp.11-12.

return.⁹⁵³ This links with the Wesley's Eucharistic theology of the Holy Spirit at the Eucharist as seen in 2.5, chapter 2, part II.

Fourth, Eucharist is seen as the Communion of the Faithful. In *BEM*, communion with Christ nourishes the life of the Church. The sharing in one loaf of bread and the common cup demonstrates the oneness of the communicants with Christ and with people of faith in all times and places. In the Eucharist the community of God's people is clearly manifested. It is stressed that Eucharistic celebrations always have to do with the whole Church, and the whole Church is involved in each local Eucharistic celebration.⁹⁵⁴

Wesley gave seven meanings of sacrifice at the Eucharist and our offering at the sacrament of Eucharist as in 2.3, chapter 2, Part II.

Fifth, Eucharist is seen as Meal of the Kingdom. Wesley saw the Eucharist as the present foretaste of the feast of kingdom: the time- transcending 'realised eschatology' seen in 2.6, chapter 4, Part II.

In *BEM* the Eucharist is the feast at which the Church gives thanks to God for these signs and joyfully celebrates and anticipates the coming of the Kingdom in Christ (1 Cor. 11:26; Matt. 26:29). As it is entirely the gift of God, the Eucharist brings into the present age a new reality, which transforms Christians into the image of Christ and therefore makes them his effective witnesses. The Eucharistic community is nourished and strengthened for confessing by word and action the Lord Jesus Christ who gave his life for the salvation of the world. Therefore the mind of world mission should be formed within the Eucharistic life. As it becomes one people, sharing the meal of the one Lord, the Eucharistic assembly must be concerned for gathering also those who are at present beyond its visible limits. In terms of this recognition, *BEM* strongly stresses that the importance of the frequent celebration of the

⁹⁵³ Ibid., p.13.

⁹⁵⁴ Ibid., p.14.

Lord's Supper as a means to deepen Christian faith: As the Eucharist celebrates the resurrection of Christ, it is appropriate that it should have a place at least every Sunday (E30-31).⁹⁵⁵ This is very same as the Wesleyan statement about frequent and regular Eucharist.

Today, at least the Eucharist is regarded widely as a key Methodist contribution to the ecumenical movement and to the WCC.⁹⁵⁶ In particular, unanimous content is shown for the Trinitarian approach to the Eucharist.⁹⁵⁷ Most remarkably the statement on the Eucharist in *BEM* accords with Wesley's theological understanding:

"The words and acts of Christ at the institution of the Eucharist stand at the heart of the celebration ... the Church confesses Christ's real, living and active presence in the Eucharist. While Christ's real presence in the Eucharist does depend on the faith of the individual, all agree that to discern the body and blood of Christ, faith is required"⁹⁵⁸

The word 'mystery' refers to God's plan for the redemption of the world through Christ. This is hidden from the understanding of unbelievers but revealed to those who have faith.⁹⁵⁹ Since the 12th century there had been the history of separations between the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox, the Protestants from the Roman Catholic, many divisions among Protestants. Therefore it is suggested that the understanding of the Eucharist within *BEM* distinguishes Christianity from other religions in the inter-religious societies, as well as stimulating improved Christian relations.

⁹⁵⁵ *BEM*, Ibid., p. 16.

⁹⁵⁶ *Baptism, Eucharist & Ministry 1982-1990*, Faith and Order paper No. 149 (Geneva: WCC publications, 1990), p.55.

⁹⁵⁷ *BEM*, p. 13. See E. 14 "... It is the Father who is the primary origin and final fulfillment of the Eucharistic event. The incarnate Son of God by and in whom it is accomplished is its living center. The Holy Spirit is the immeasurable strength of love, which makes it possible and continues to make it effective. The bond between the Eucharistic celebration and the mystery of the Triune God reveals the role of the Holy Spirit as that of the One who makes the historical words of Jesus present and alive."

⁹⁵⁸ *BEM*, p.12

⁹⁵⁹ Ephesians 1:9-10.

2.6. Remaining argument of Eucharistic theology on *BEM*

Although the WCC agrees that celebrating the sacrament of Eucharist is a characteristic of Christian life, they recognise different views about Eucharistic theology and practice amongst local denominations. For instance, the Salvation Army⁹⁶⁰ or Quakers still do not stress sacraments as an essential means of the Church to save people. It seems that the WCC recommends that Christian churches see Eucharistic in practice as a means of world mission and the development of visible ecumenical union. Thus the WCC still has unsolved theological issues as well as practical issues. It has left the determination to local denominations in relation to when and how often to celebrate. At least it can be said that the Methodists have retained their commitment to *BEM*.

In addition, the WCC has not come to a decision about whether the Eucharist should be celebrated at the same time, days or places across different Christian churches. It has not reached consensus. For instance differences remain in relation to Transubstantiation (Catholic) and the Presence of Christ (Methodist).⁹⁶¹

Furthermore, there remain some regrets in relation to *BEM*. One of these regards the

⁹⁶⁰ The Salvation Army does not hold its position as an article of faith or doctrine, but simply as one of practice. The answer must be a two-part one.

First, there are some very real dangers in forms of religion, which place heavy dependence on ceremonies and rituals. Meaningful symbols can become meaningless rituals, and have often done so. The Salvation Army places the emphasis on personal faith and on a spiritual relationship with God, which is not dependent on anything external. Further, Church history shows that disputes about the detailed practice and meaning of such ceremonies have often been a divisive factor between Christians.

The second part of the answer is to point out that the belief of many Christians that the use of the sacrament of communion was commanded by Christ as essential for all Christians for all time, can be no more than an assumption. (See. Jean Bryant, "Why doesn't The Salvation Army hold any communion services?", *The War Cry* (28 February 1987))

Hence, in another words, we may ask how to accommodate the differences in understanding the relation between the real presence of Christ and the signs of bread and wine.

⁹⁶¹ Michael Jackson and David Butler, *Catholics and Methodists* (The work of the International Commissions 1967-1986, 1988), p.10.

meaning of healing at the Eucharist. Wesley was influenced by the Eastern Orthodox as seen in 2.4 Chapter 4, Part II although this is not revealed as a major gift of the Eucharist in *BEM*. Nevertheless it is admitted that today all churches have sought to improve relations with one another making certain agreements themselves and in relation to world mission as *BEM*. It should be noted that *BEM* can be criticised for arguing that the Eucharist is important to be identified for both inwards Christian faith and outwards the world of mission among the era of religious diversity.

3. Actual Attempts to recover Wesley's fervour

3.1. New understanding of the rite

Today the effects of international Methodist ecumenical dialogue have resulted in openness to the other traditions that do not share the Methodist tradition of Eucharistic theology and practice. This had enabled a cross-fertilisation of resources and ideas (e.g. Methodists learning from the Salvationists and Roman Catholics and vice versa). It has lessened the suspicions and barriers which had existed between heirs of the reformation and the Roman Catholic Church. In light of these kinds of exchanges it can also be expected that Methodist Eucharistic theology and practice can influence other churches. There have been reports that several newly inaugurated charismatic non-denominational churches are finding new appreciation for the liturgy, taking up the practice of weekly Eucharist, using '... clerical vestments, litanies, incense, processions, fixed prayers and creeds...' ⁹⁶² There have been several reasons for this: growing discontentment with the 'need' to make every service 'unique' and the awareness that 'empty ritual' can refer to 'praise choruses' as it can to old hymns; the advantage of having liturgical forms which shift the attention from the skills/charisma for the service leaders to the worshippers; a desire for services which bring

⁹⁶² Thigpen, 1992, pp.43-44.

about deeper change rather than providing mere 'entertainment'. Thigpen mentioned:

For... others, the primary motivation for change was a deep sense – often felt more than understood – that the Lord's Supper needed to be recognised as a source of spiritual life and health to be received every Sunday. Through study, they learned that from ancient times the Eucharist has been held by the church as the Climax of the worship service, when worshippers encounter Jesus in a unique way; and they experienced the reality for themselves.⁹⁶³

The shift to more liturgical type of worship also meant that some aspects of life in the Spirit are best communicated and experienced through concrete, visual and acted symbols rather than through words.⁹⁶⁴

3.2. Concerning Eucharistic Hymnal

It is admitted that the decline of the use of Eucharistic hymns inhibited Eucharistic formation. For instance, the number of Eucharistic hymnals in the British Methodist hymnbooks declined till the edition 1933 (twenty-one, 1831, twenty-one, 1875, seventeen, 1904, fourteen, 1933). There has been a big shift since the 1983 edition (sixteen in 1983, and forty four in 2011). This could have been an attempt to stimulate greater Eucharistic spirituality and practice amongst devotees. One example of such an attempt is seen in the work of the order of St Luke and the Charles Wesley Society. The two groups reprinted a modernised version (1990) and a facsimile (1995) of the hymns respectively.

Three of the Wesley's strongest themes in the *HLSas* discussed in part II have been consistently upheld by the inclusion of its Eucharistic hymns. It is concerned about today's communion that there is invitation to 'draw near with faith, to receive the body and blood of

⁹⁶³ Ibid., pp.45-46.

⁹⁶⁴ Ibid., p.50.

Christ heart, by faith with thanksgiving’.

Recently there has been a shift in terms of interest in Eucharistic hymns. In 1983, the Methodist hymn book, *Hymns and Psalms*, strongly reflected a commitment to ecumenism. It did not express a single, coherent theology in Methodist, but rather differing theologies, some non denominational, were present. By that time there was an ecumenical project involving not only Methodists but representatives from the Baptist Union, the Churches of Christ, the Church of England, the Congregational Federation and the United Reformed Church.

Very recently the British Methodist Church has published a new version of the Hymn Book titled, *Sing the Faith* (Sep, 2011). The new book reflects the diversity of Christian faith in a contemporary context. The book is ‘authorised’ by the Methodist conference (2008).⁹⁶⁵ In particular, the new book has reduced Wesley’s contributions down to seventy-nine. By contrast, a wider variety of Christian theology has been included alongside that of Wesley. It has revealed the theological state of British Methodist church in postmodernism. So can it be called a Methodist hymns book? Is it advancing from Wesley or receding?

3.3. New understanding of The Holy Spirit

Another important point to note is that the dynamism of the encounter with the Lord who initiates the work is clear through the strong affirmation of the work of the Holy Spirit. This is reflected in the prayer in the British *Methodist Service Book* seeking the power of the Spirit to empower the communicants to ‘share in the body and blood of Christ’⁹⁶⁶.

⁹⁶⁵ Cf. <http://www.singingthefaith.org.uk/faq.htm#k> (12.Jan.2013)) "undergone the scrutiny of the whole church, through the Methodist Conference and its Faith & Order Committee, and are thus authorised by the Conference as the normative texts of the Methodist Church in Britain. These texts express the corporate doctrinal/liturgical mind of the Conference." (Conference 2008)

⁹⁶⁶ *Methodist Service Book* (British Methodist Conference, 1975), p. B 14.

The 1936 order for communion did not have an epiclesis. These 'acts' of the Spirit upon the elements, upon the people and for the effects of the sacraments are found in *HLS* 7,16,72, 72/3-4, and 150. Wesley's omission of the *epiclesis* in his *Sunday Service* for America Methodist is now restored to Methodism via the influence of the *HLS*. A final note is that the rubric in the Methodist Service Book states that at the conclusion of the service, the remains of the elements 'should be disposed of reverently'.⁹⁶⁷ This reflects Wesley's Eucharistic belief that the elements change in their significance through the work of the Spirit.

Regarding the celebration of communion, the response to the grace of God in the form of self-offering is strong in all Eucharistic liturgies, expressing the great thanksgiving. The 1662 prayer of humble access has been retained. Nevertheless, it is admitted that there were several elements of Wesleyan thought missing or under developed such as the emphasis on the presence of God, the goal of Christian perfection, joy, and healing through communion. It also lacks an emphasis on practical disciplines in Christian life such as Class meeting, bands, or selected societies in different groups according to ages, sex, works, and locations on a regular basis.

In addition, it could be admitted that the role of ministry training courses and theological training for church leaders: ministers and lay preachers is more important.

4. Contributions of Wesley's Eucharist

4.1. Wesley's formation of Eucharistic theology

What Wesley did recognise regarding the Eucharist was its genuine value as an essential source of Christian spirituality and a means of encountering Jesus as healer in theology and

⁹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. B 4.

in practice.

The Eucharist is not primarily a program for improving one's life and character. The administration of the Eucharist is seen to enrich the whole body of Christ from the 'Church' toward the 'World'. As noted in chapter 2, Part II, Eucharistic theology allows the believer to view the world and to serve neighbourhoods rather than staying in individual piety. Spiritual formation through the Eucharist would result in effective witness in the world. It is clear that the spiritually therapeutic approach to the whole of life provides a gentle and yet challenging model. Christians are seen as broken yet meaningful and valuable people who are moving along the path of rehabilitation towards holiness and wholeness. The Christocentric focus and dynamic personal encounters not only underline the place of grace in the experience of the divine-human interaction, but also reinforce the faith of the whole body of Church. Christendom through the Eucharistic theology is primarily a living body which cannot be reduced to a mere list of creedal statement or doing an impressive array of well-meaning activities.

For this one impressive fact is that Wesley's Eucharistic formation meant that Wesley himself could be a strong Eucharistic leader for the discipline of accountability and submission to communicants. Wesley exercised strong pastoral oversight. For Wesley the 'priesthood of all believers' never meant that absolute equality is to be exercised in every relationship of the church. There is a place and role for certain kinds of leadership, and spiritual formation certainly required strong leadership.

4.2. Being of Human's Intention/faithfulness

Wesley's Eucharistic theology emphasises the role of human willingness and faithfulness in achieving Eucharistic fervour. Faithfulness in the frequent and constant reception of communion is an obedient response to Christ's command. While one expects an encounter

with the Christ and that the encounter will involve one's senses, one does not keep the discipline for the experience's sake.

Intention at the holy table is tied in with the concept of the 'converting ordinance'. Wesley did not mean this phrase to be interpreted as opening the table to anyone who would come, regardless of baptismal state. However we can make an argument that Wesley inadvertently laid a foundation which can be built upon by their followers in a different generation and culture facing a new missiological challenge.

For the early Methodists, Eucharistic services were open only to the baptised. For Wesley most of his congregation would have already been baptised even though their faith might be nominal. In the 18th century most people had a baptism as a child. That was English Christian culture. They did not have to deal with Eucharistic celebrations where there were a large number of unbaptised Christians nor did they have to encounter in their pews big groups of those who were from other religions.

What the faithful descendants of Wesley face today in different parts of the world are large groups of unbaptised Christians (unbaptised because they are under the legal age of twenty-one and cannot depart from their family's faith unless permission is granted, and permission is often denied) and non-Christians (seekers) present during their Eucharistic and other worship services.

Wesleyan Eucharistic intention affirms that Christ is truly present at the communion to meet, encounter, touch and heal the person even in a dramatic way. Cannot the understanding of 'converting ordinance' be stretched so that the Table becomes a meeting point between the un-baptised Christians or seekers from another background of faith with the living Christ?

Can the Eucharistic Table become more than a 'family meal' for baptised Christians? Can it not become a place for conversion (When people respond to an evangelistic 'altar call' to receive Jesus) and a place for a Christian youth in a non-Christian household to receive strength to hold on to the faith? The trend in today's Eucharistic understanding might include recognition of being the power of the Holy Spirit amongst communicants. Some might think that church tradition or orders could create barriers between communicants in relation to age, baptism and ordination for example. This might be a shocking idea to those who venerate the practise of twenty centuries of church tradition. It would be an issue that will not be silenced as the children of Wesley enter deeper into the new millennium. The linking of Eucharist with the evangelism could prove to be a powerful combination.

4.3. Free will

A Theological understanding of the intention for implementing the Eucharist links with an Armenian theology of free will which influenced Wesley. Indications of when Wesley first knew of Arminius are revealed in two basic sources early in his ministry. First, he knew something of Arminius through Remonstrant spokesmen. In the year when Wesley was ordained a deacon at Oxford (1725), he read Hugo Grotius' *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum*.⁹⁶⁸ In the midst of his first Calvinistic controversy in 1741, while in the Lincoln College Library, he came by chance upon the works of Simon Episcopius. He happened to open the book at the description of the Synod of Dort and was thoroughly shocked by the actions of the Calvinists toward the Remonstrants.⁹⁶⁹ Wesley's second engagement with Armenian theology was through the Anglican writers of the seventeenth century.⁹⁷⁰ This was his predominant source, a fact which is amply demonstrated in the

⁹⁶⁸ Green, 1961, p. 306.

⁹⁶⁹ Nehemiah Curnock, ed., *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.* 8 vols. (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1909-16), II, p. 473.

⁹⁷⁰ *AM*, I, v.

materials selected for inclusion in the *Armenian Magazine*.⁹⁷¹ The Armenians believe that the free will of human beings is an inward instrument which reflects the means of grace and God's intention for humans. To implement the instituted means of grace a person needs to believe equally in the intention of God and the free will of human beings.

4.4. Trailblazer of Ecumenical co-operation.

Wesley was a genuine reformer. Since Luther's religious revolution (1517) there had been a separation between the Catholic Church in Europe and those called Protestants. Until Wesley no one intended to reconcile the relationship between Catholic Church and Protestants not only in Britain, but also in the whole of Europe. They seemed disinterested in toleration.

There is a difference between Luther and Wesley, even if they both stressed faith for salvation. Luther himself divided from Catholic Church, but Wesley devoted himself to restoring the relationship within the Christian world on the basis of the same essential faith. Therefore, Wesley developed the first ecumenical systematic theology.⁹⁷² Piette concluded that the original Methodism marked a 'reaction' within the evolution of Protestants.⁹⁷³

If so, where did he learn the ecumenical mind? It could be from his ecumenical reading and friendships. Wesley's sermons and other writings draw on a wide range of ecumenical resources. In addition, his fifty volumes of *Christian Library* include people from a wide range of denominations including Protestant, Roman Catholic, Puritan, Anglican and Orthodox writing. This perfectly illustrates his ecumenical conviction. His practical ecumenism

⁹⁷¹ One can quickly verify this by scanning the tables of contents in the various volumes of the magazine under Wesley's editorship. Or one can get the picture even more speedily by reading through Green's summary of the contents of the various volumes. Richard Green, *The Works of John and Charles Wesley, A Bibliography: Containing an Exact Account of all the Publications Issued by The Brothers Wesley Arranged in Chronological Order* (London: C. H. Kelly, 1896), pp. 196-8, 200-1, 204-5, 212-13, 218-19, 221-2, 224-5, 227-8, 232-3, 234-5, 238-9, 241-2, 245, 248.

⁹⁷² John Newton, 'The Ecumenical Wesley', *The Ecumenical Review* (Vol. 24, 1972), p.174.

⁹⁷³ Maximin Piette, *John Wesley in the Evolution of Protestantism* (London; Sheed and Ward), 1979.

expounds “not superficial”⁹⁷⁴ but in “practical religion” and “experimental knowledge of the things of God”.⁹⁷⁵

Furthermore, in Wesley’s Methodist Society there were ecumenical groups such as the evangelical Church of Mission. Schmidt comments that Wesley was the first theologian in church history to understand that the church must be interpreted as intended for mission.⁹⁷⁶ For mission Wesley intentionally met many other denominational leaders: Baptists, Moravians, Mennonites, Calvinists, Arians, and Antinomians.⁹⁷⁷ When his active heart had forgiven, the language of ‘reconciliation’ between the Churches had also been lost since Wesley’s death for about 200 years. It has barely been recovered after having two World Mission Conferences - the Edinburgh Conference (on August 3-21, 1910) and the first World Conference on Faith and Order in Lausanne, Switzerland (in August 1927).⁹⁷⁸ The two conferences depended on evangelical faith. In the two conferences although the Catholic Church did not attend, the issue of Faith and Order almost was treated as today.

Wesley always tried to make a progressive relationship with deep ecumenical researches between the Methodist Church, the Anglican Church and Catholic Church. As a result, historically and experimentally his ecumenical resources have had a great influence. First, Wesley’s ecumenical thought held together different Methodist groups which after his death had to separate from the Church of England as dissenters.⁹⁷⁹ Since then the Connexion was

⁹⁷⁴ John Newton, 1972, p.175.

⁹⁷⁵ Cf. *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley*, A. N., ed. T. Jackson, XIV, pp. 221-22.

⁹⁷⁶ Martin Schmidt, ‘Wesley’s place in Church history in The place of Wesley in the Christian Tradition’, edited by Kenneth E. Rowe (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1976), pp.81, 91.

⁹⁷⁷ Cf. Ernest A. Payne, ‘John Wesley and Some Baptist Encounters’ (61-68) in *Epworth Review*, Vol 7, no 2, (Methodist Publishing House, May 1980).

⁹⁷⁸ See *Edinburgh 1910*, ed, The Committee of the World Missionary Conference by Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier (Edinburgh and London), 1910; H.N.Bate, *Faith and Order – Proceeding of the World Conference Lausanne, August 3-21, 1927* (London Student Christian Movement), 1927. The list of Churches represented at Lausanne, The Church of England, Baptist, Brethren, Christian, Congregational, Disciple, Eastern Churches, Evangelical Churches of Germany, Friends, Lutheran, Mennonists, Methodist, Moravian, Old Catholic Churches, Presbyterian and Reformed and Other Churches, pp.527-530.

⁹⁷⁹ David Butler, *Dying to be one* (SCM Press, 1996), p.109. Butler asks that Wesley remained at least four matters with the Anglican establishment that were unresolved at his death.

divided into a few more congregations although Wesley never wanted to be in schism.⁹⁸⁰ Some of the hardest divisions of the nineteenth century were healed in the Methodist Union of 1932.⁹⁸¹ Second, Attempts were made towards Anglican-Methodist Union. In 1946 Archbishop Geoffrey Fisher preached a sermon on *Christian Unity*.⁹⁸² Preliminary talks took place between the Church of England and non-conformists. The Methodist Church agreed to have deeper conversations that resulted in several important publications in the 1960s. Eventually, the Unity Scheme was produced and an Ordinal was agreed for future ordinations. In the 1960s the plans had some difficulty in continuing, but more recently in the 1990s there have had official dialogues with the Covenant for Unity in the long term. Wesley's hope was achieved.⁹⁸³ Pastoral needs seemed to have been more important than Church orders.⁹⁸⁴ Therefore, even though his determination to structure a Methodist Society

'1. The problem of field preaching which Wesley had begun in April 1739 at the request of George Whitefield. Did the Methodists have the right to preach in other men's parishes? A lot of clergymen were annoyed at the trespassing on their pastoral domains

2. The problem of lay preaching. This began at the Foundery in Moorfields, London, c.1740, and Wesley saw that through lay preachers people were converted. At Wesley's death there were 282 of these, affanged in 'circuits' where they intenerated from place to place. John Wesley once said, 'soul damning clergymen lay me under more difficulties than soul saving layman'. But episcopal authority did not approve them.

3. The use of Methodist buildings. Were these, such as the Horsefair in Bristol, the Foundery in London and the later Wesley's Chapel in London, really Anglican buildings or were they sectarian? That they were founded with their own model trust deeds seemed to indicate that they were sectarian.

4. Methodist ordinations. Wesley approached the Bishop of London to request him to ordain some of his lay preachers for America where the recent War of Independence had left the Anglicans without pastors. The Bishop refused whereupon Wesley ordained two of his own men for America and set apart another clergyman as a superintendent. He claimed that his authority for doing this was to be found in the history of the early church where 'bishop' and 'presbyter' were the same order of ministry.'

⁹⁸⁰ In 1811 *The Primitive Methodists*, 1834 *The Protestant Methodist* and 1849 *The Wesleyan Reformers*. Cf. John M Turner, *Conflict and Recconciliation – Studies in Methodism and Ecumenism in England 1740-1982* (Epworth Press), 1985.

⁹⁸¹ In 1932, the Methodist Union brought Wesleyan, Primitive and United Methodists together in the Methodist Church in Great Britain.

After Wesley's death Methodists' action (1791-1937) is arranged by Maximin Piette, *John Wesley in the evolution of Protestantism*, pp 393-408.

⁹⁸² University Sermon of Archbishop Geoffrey Fisher, 'A step Forward in Church Relation', great St Mary's University Sermon, 3 November 1946 in *the Archbishop Speaks*, pp.64.

⁹⁸³ *Works* 13: 185-86.

Wesley did the best that he never left his Church of England, although he criticised of the legalism in the Church of England. He kept this intention until his death since he revealed in 1755.

⁹⁸⁴ David Butler, *Dying to be One*, p.110.

which reflected his theological methods⁹⁸⁵ he also wanted to stay in the Church of England, and wanted his Methodist society to contribute spiritual vigour to the Anglican Church.⁹⁸⁶ Third, Wesley's *letter to Roman Catholics* has produced a fruit of dialogues in recent times. Wesley did not receive any response from the Roman Catholic Church during his lifetime. It can be speculated why Catholics did not respond when we read that Richard Challoner (1691-1781), the leader of the England Catholics, censured Methodists in his *Caveat Against the Methodists*.⁹⁸⁷ Although Wesley was opposed to Catholic teaching and theology for most of his life he did not reveal any direct negative reactions against the Catholic church except for an event that developed in London, known as anti-Catholic Gordon Riots in 1780. It was because of opposition to the 1778 Catholic Relief Act.⁹⁸⁸ In recent times the Roman Catholic Church has, in complete contrast, quoted Wesley's letters in official talks and documents.⁹⁸⁹ In 1967, international conversations between the World Methodist Council

⁹⁸⁵ Cf. Albert C Outler, 'The Wesleyan Quadrilateral in John Wesley' (21-37) in *The Wesleyan Theological Heritage*, edited by Thomas C Oden & Leicester R. Longden (Zondervan Publishing House, 1991); Thomas A. Langford, 'John Wesley and Theological Method' (35-47) in *Rethinking Wesley's Theology*. Edited by Randy L. Maddox (Kings books, 1998)

⁹⁸⁶ Outer, 1964, p.306. Even he understood the Catholic Church as the superior-general of an evangelical order within a regional division

⁹⁸⁷ When Challoner led Catholic, Methodists and Catholics were competing for converts in parts of London, by using similar methods and agreeing on a desperate concern for the poor. The use of itinerant preachers and priests were in both. (J.M. Turner, 'Methodism, Roman Catholicism and the Middle Ages: A contextual Approach', p. 52.

In *Caveat Against the Methodist*, Challoner said,

'Methodists are not the people of God. They are not true Gospel Christians; ... The Methodist Teachers are not the true Minister of Christ nor are they called or sent by him. The Methodist Rule of faith is not the Rule of true Christianity. ... and their eternal salvation is no true Christian Faith but a mere illusion and groundless presumption' (Butler, *Methodists and papists*, pp. 70ff.)

⁹⁸⁸ John Kent, *Wesley and the Wesleyans* (Cambridge university press, 2002), pp. 78-79. The Anti-Catholic Gordon Riots was lead by Lord George Gordon (1751-1793) who was an MP. He led a huge crowd to parliament to present a petition demanding the repeal of a 1778 act, which removed certain restrictions on Roman Catholics. The demonstration became a riot. With cries of 'No Popery!' the rioters held London for several days until the army restored order. About 300 people died in the rioting.

⁹⁸⁹ The Second Vatican Council were featured with Wesley's 'The letter to a Roman Catholic' and the Sermon on 'the Catholic Church'(1950) were written when Wesley was worried since the two deepest incidents between Methodists and Catholics, the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 and the Cork riots of 1749, which was one of the worst anti-Methodist riots of Wesley's days.

John Munsey Turner explains about how Wesley influences to Catholics as follows,

'These two writings caused Cardinal Bea, who was the President of the Vatican Secretariat for Christian Unity, to declare: ' Because it expressed so simply and effectively the main features of the ecumenical movement as recommended by church leaders today and, as far as Roman Catholics are concerned, the Second Vatican Council and Pope Paul VI, John Wesley' letter to a Roman Catholic cannot but be a welcome source of inspiration and encouragement to all,

and the Catholic Church were initiated. John Newton says that Wesley through *the Letter to Catholic Church* has become 'as an anticipation of some of the fundamental lines of ecumenical thinking'⁹⁹⁰ for Protestants and Catholics as well as his day and our ecumenical desire. Although he did not mention the Lord's Supper as a visible essential of Christian faithful life in the *letter* Wesley was convinced that the Lord's Supper is a visible essential of a faithful Christian life. Through the long dialogues between churches including Protestants, Catholics and Orthodox, I believe that Wesley's principle of a Eucharistic church has been approved by the Catholic Church and in the *BEM*.

Furthermore, in discussions between the World Methodist Council and the Roman Catholic Church⁹⁹¹ they have written about the Church as mission: 'the ultimate of mission is to serve God's saving purpose for all of humankind'.⁹⁹² They felt the ecumenical imperative and have at last begun 'to enjoy a union in affection on their way to that "entire external union"⁹⁹³ which Wesley, in his time, hardly dared to hope for.'⁹⁹⁴

Fourth, it is important to recognize that the WCC focus on Faith and Order has reflected Wesley's ecumenical mind and Eucharistic practice in relation to missions since Edinburgh (1910), especially in dialogues since the 1960s.⁹⁹⁵ The Eucharist was used effectively in his societies to distinguish Methodism from groups such as the Moravians and represents an inclusive way forward for most Protestant and Catholic believers. Wesley however had

both the ecumenically committed and the ecumenically indifferent' ('Methodism, Roman Catholicism and the Middle Ages: A Contextual Approach' (47-70), *One in Christ* (Vol. 38, no.4, 2003), p.50-51.

Cardinal Bea sees that the letter is as an anticipation both of the ecumenism of the second Vatican Council and of the 'Lund principle' in a writing a commendatory preface to a Catholic edition of the *letter* (John Newton, 1972, p.161)

⁹⁹⁰ John Newton, 1972, p.160.

⁹⁹¹ Cf. 'Ecumenical Notes and Documentation – Speaking the Truth in Love Teaching Authority among Catholic and Methodist' (82-123) in *One in Christ*, Vol. 37, no 3, July 2002. p. 93.

⁹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 93.

⁹⁹³ Wesley's sermon on 'Catholic Spirit', *Works* 2:82.

⁹⁹⁴ Cf. 'Ecumenical Notes and Documentation – Speaking the Truth in Love Teaching Authority among Catholic and Methodist' (82-123), p.93.

⁹⁹⁵ In Denver (1971), Dublin (1977), Honolulu (1981), Nairobi (1981) and Singapore (1991) and so on. For more detail 'The dialogue between Methodists and Catholics', *One in Christ* (Vol.30, no.2), 1994, pp 176-183.

expected this to facilitate greater unity; a view that has made an increasingly great contribution today.

Wesley recognised that the essentials of the Eucharist shared by different denominations could resolve many struggles in the Christian world. Wesley therefore strived to make a core for all Churches that focused on a presentation of true religion (Faith/essentials) and Order (opinions). He also mentioned the Eucharist in pastoral theology: institute and prudential. This insight has been rediscovered in WCC dialogues. This legitimate diversity of the Church became recognised in the Leuenberg Agreement.⁹⁹⁶ 'Leuenberg offers no structures, only appeal to live in fellowship and then develop structures.'⁹⁹⁷

Since Vatican Council II, Roman Catholic affirmation of legitimate diversity has matured further. In the WCC affirmation although the ultimate goal of ecumenism is to be one church in structure, in recent times most mainstream Churches in the world have placed an increasing emphasis on unity in diversity. Diversity is seen not only as legitimate but also enriching. Through this diversity of gifts, as Pope John Paul II puts it, the Church has been enriched, even in separation.⁹⁹⁸ In the WCC as well throughout the discussions, there has been the continuing affirmation of the goal of visible unity within legitimate and enriching diversity. This means that Wesley's prediction about opinions has been right until today. At this point we should focus more on Wesley's aim of ecumenical relationship in relation to mission. In current statements such as the *Gift of Authority* (1999), the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC) agreed the 'diversity and complexity of human

See 'Faith and Order's Dublin Text', *One in Christ* (Vol 28, No.4), 1992.

⁹⁹⁶ Cf. 'Unity in reconciled diversity'. Dr Johannes Hanselmann in G. Gassmann and P. Norgaard-Hojen(eds.), *Einheit der Kirche*, Festschrift for Harding Meyer on his sixtieth birthday(Verlag Otto Lembeck, Frankfurt, 1988), p.10; Harding Meyer, *That all may be One*. English translation by Willaim Rusch(Eerdmans, Grand Rapids,1999); Harding Meyer's articles 'Critique of the Leuenberg Agreement' in Rusch and Martensen op. cit. and 'Reconciled Diversity' in Nicholas Lossky et al.(eds), *The Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement*(WCC, Geneva/CCBI, London, 1991),p.845.

⁹⁹⁷ Donald Norwood, 'Unity in Reconciled Diversity', *One in Christ* (Vol.37, No.2, 2002), p.67.

⁹⁹⁸ John Paul II, encyclical letter, *Ut Unum Sint*, 1995, section 85.

experience' into which the Gospel has to be received through time and space.⁹⁹⁹

Rack's assessment is apposite,

'It is anachronistic to see Wesley as an ecumenical pioneer in the perspective of the modern ecumenical movement.'¹⁰⁰⁰

In the era of the Ecumenical Movement human lives in dialogue with living tradition, have produced a variety of expressions of the Gospel. Greater understanding may involve the 'sifting' of past doctrine because some formulations of the Faith are now seen to be inadequate or misleading in a new context.¹⁰⁰¹

Wesley's ecumenism revolved around the conviction that Christians should accept one another, with all their differences in worship and patterns of Church order in Catholic love¹⁰⁰² and for Catholic love. Wesley believed that Catholic love is evangelical.¹⁰⁰³ He felt that a confession of Catholic love was central to the ecumenical movement. For Wesley ecumenical actions expounded the same essential Creed rather than opinions about various forms of Church and Worship. In light of this principle Wesley hoped to form mission plans together with the Catholic Church. This is very similar to the WCC's recent Faith and Order Declarations.¹⁰⁰⁴ This similarity extends to the final aim of structural unity, although Wesley did not express this aim clearly in the letter. Therefore, in the Church ecumenical gatherings and evangelical faith that Wesley pointed up is as important for our era and as for his.

Wesley's practical ecumenical action should be preserved continually. Wesley was

⁹⁹⁹ *The Gift of Authority: Authority in the Church, III* (Toronto/London/New York, 1999), paragraphs, pp. 25 – 27.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Henry Rack, *A reasonable Enthusiast*, second edition (London, 2002), p.313.

¹⁰⁰¹ 'The Gift of Authority: Authority in the Church III' (Toronto/London/New York), 1

¹⁰⁰² John Newton, 1972, p.174.

¹⁰⁰³ G. R. Cragg, *Reason and Authority in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p.163.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Cf. 'Ecumenical notes and Documentation' - Speaking the Truth in Love Teaching authority among Catholics and Methodists, *One in Christ* (Vol.37, no.2, 2002)

convinced that he formulated the principle of essentials and opinions for the ecumenical movement. According to that conviction he acted energetically.

Where the reformers failed to express a passion for the Eucharist, Wesley succeeded in promoting frequent reception of the sacrament. Although his evangelical attitude changed after May 1738, he retained the High-Church views of the Eucharist. Wesley linked evangelism with the Eucharist¹⁰⁰⁵, but not in such close proximity. Because Wesley believed the Eucharist is a centre to unite all churches. As Bowmer said 'one of the glories of the Methodist revival' was that the Lord's Supper was 'enlisted in the service of evangelistic zeal' and was a 'very powerful agent in the revival'.¹⁰⁰⁶ Most evangelical revivals had been 'predominantly non-sacramental in character'.¹⁰⁰⁷ What surprises people is that although Wesley's preaching and teaching was successful he presented the sacrament as a more significant means of grace. The *HLS* was written from the time when Wesley was deeply engaged in his evangelical ministry.

4.5. Dispensing a range of Theology and Practice

Wesley was open to contemporary cultures as well as the retaining of the Christian essentials. He saw the need to apply these essentials to contemporary cultures and to the future. Because of that attitude Wesley could understand the challenges facing evangelicals which led him to visit anywhere, to meet anyone, to celebrate the Eucharist at anytime in perfect love.

This attitude is well shown in his works on theology and practice. Wesley studied a wide range of resources from the early Christian period to his own time and from the eastern to the western church theologically and practically. He expressed this clearly in his writings and

¹⁰⁰⁵ A. Raymond George, 'the people called Methodists- 4. The means of Grace' in *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain* (London: Epworth Press, 1965), p.260.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Bowmer, 1951, p. 188.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Todd, 1958, p. 33.

in his ministry. Although he could not propose the accurate theology upon which all churches should agree, he did his best and suggested the principle of the Christian faith such as means of grace for the ecumenical mission of Christian life. One of them is Eucharistic.

4.6. Task: the Eucharist in Inter-religious era

In the 1950's Emil Brunner asked this question, 'What is the Church?'¹⁰⁰⁸ This question has become more serious in relation to inter-religious (or Multi-religious) societies, cultural relativism, post-modernism and pluralism. It requires Christians to identify the key aspects of their faith and to compare these with other religion cultures. Biblical, historical and cultural methodologies have been used to achieve this.

As a result of his own experience of global relationship it can be supposed that Wesley recognised the challenges posed to Christian ministries by diverse theologies and cultural relativism in an era of globalisation. Wesley believed that the Eucharist is the core means of unification to identify the Christians in the Christian world.

By the same logic, meanwhile, the Eucharist can be seen as the distinctive Christian rite by non-Christians or people of other religions. The mood of globalisation has led the churches to reflect on the need to recreate Christian worship in multi cultural/religious societies. A further related challenge is the question of whether Christians should incorporate other religious forms into the Christian life, or to more strongly assert a unique Christian identity. This is an issue of current concern in the multi-religious context of Britain in an era of globalisation.¹⁰⁰⁹ This is clearly revealed in the last two population censuses. The 2001 National Census showed there were at least 27 religions in England and Wales (Mainly

¹⁰⁰⁸ Emil Brunner, *The Misunderstanding of the Church* (Lutterworth Press, 1952), p. 5.

¹⁰⁰⁹The Telegraph (2004 Dec 13) "Spiritual Britain worships over 170 different faiths", by Jonathan Peter, Religion Correspondent.

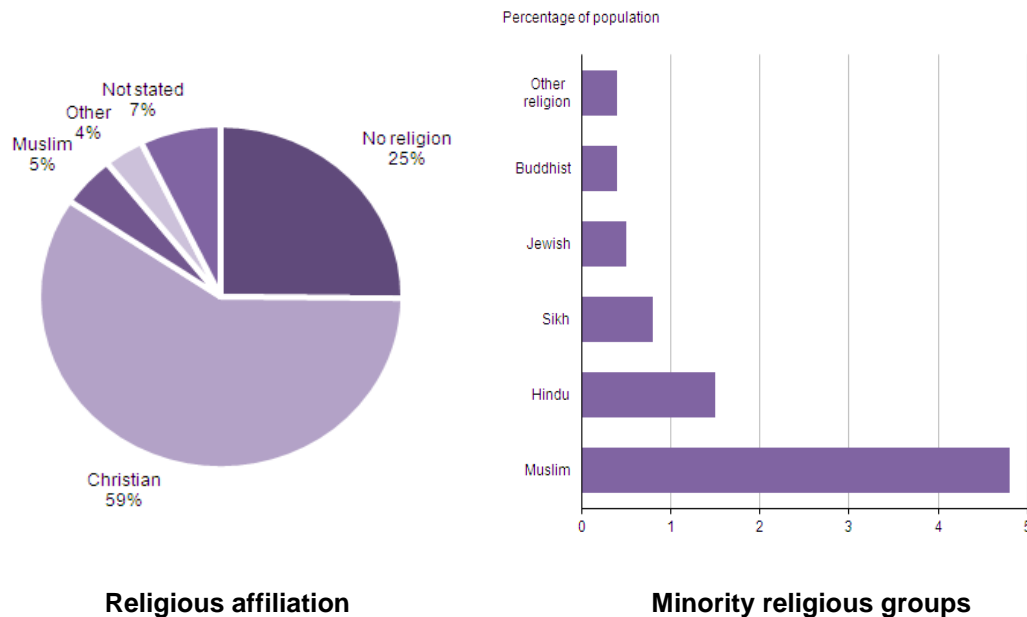
Christian, next the biggest group is Muslim). And in the 2011 census, the rates of other religions have been increasing, comparing with Christianity.

Figure 1) Religions in England and Wales in 2001

Religions	Adherents	%
Christian	42 079 000	71.6
No religion (inc. Jedis)	9 104 000	15.5
Muslim	1 546 626	2.7
Hindu	552 421	1.0
Jedi Knight	390 000	0.7
Sikh	329 358	0.6
Jewish	259 927	0.5
Buddhist	144 453	0.3
Spiritualist	32 404	
Pagan	30 569	
Jainism	15 132	
Wicca	7 227	
Rastafarians	4 692	
Baha'l	4 645	
Zoroastrians	3 738	
Christadelphian	2 368	
Druidism	1 657	
Pantheism	1 603	
Satanism	1 525	
New Age	906	
Eckankar	426	
Raja Yoga	261	
Native American Church	234	
Vodun (Voodoo)	123	
Occult	99	
Ancestor Worship	98	
Free Church of Love	49	
Amish	24	
Other	179 000	0.3
Total religious	45 163 000	76.8
No answer	4 289 000	7.3

Figure 2: Religious affiliation and Minority religious groups, England and Wales, 2011
(Source: Census - Office for National Statistics¹⁰¹⁰)

¹⁰¹⁰ <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011-census/key-statistics-for-local-authorities-in-england-and-wales/rpt-religion.html#tab-Changing-picture-of-religious-affiliation-over-last-decade>.



In the 2011 Census one of the remarkable contrasts with 2001 is that non religious people have increased by about 10% from 15.5 to 25.1% of the population of England and Wales. This is in contrast to the decrease in the number of Christians by almost 13% (71.6 ->59). The Christian population is 33.2 million people. Despite this falling number Christianity remains the largest religion. Islam is the next biggest religious group with 2.7 million people (4.8% increased from 2.4% or 1.5 million) and has grown in the last decade.

At this point the *BEM* statement should be recalled. In its 1982 agreement the WCC did not fully incorporate the importance of the contemporary inter-religious context into the *BEM*. If *BEM* is a statement of Christian identity in Worship in a Christian world, it could be used by Christian communities to reveal their identity in multi-religious society. It is not for competition against other religions. The recovery of the Eucharist is for the love of God and Neighbour.

Within this multi-religious society no one can deny the needs of local mission or evangelism. Churches in Britain have confronted inevitable questions. First, it is necessary that the

church should respect other cultures and study them. Thus the church can expect respect from other believers. Second, the church should reveal a clear confirmation of faith in its theology and practical life of love which can be compared with other faiths. It should be considered where and how the church reveals this without fostering struggles against other believers in everyday life. The church faces a dilemma between Jesus' command to accept an evangelical calling and respect for other religious cultures. Third, therefore the first task for Christians in a multi-religious society should be to recover the original power of the Eucharistic theology. Christian identity as it is seen within Eucharistic life should be revealed in the variety of forms of Christian life in society. Communicants should witness their changed life after taking the communion. Without good reputation who can be interested in the experience of eternal Jesus, spiritual and physical healer? Local churches should research the Eucharistic theology, as well as developing attractive spiritual forms of Eucharistic practice. If there are spiritual witnesses to the Eucharistic life in local churches as there were amongst the early Methodists, this could further stimulate the Eucharistic movement. Therefore, in the multi-religious societies and globalisation, it would be more significant to recover the Eucharistic worship for revealing the being of Christianity. Constant republications about the importance of Eucharistic life in doctrine and in practice should be encouraged. For instance, I believe there is a proper timing of a publication on which a Methodist liturgical scholar, Anderson gives the title, *Worship and Christian identity* (2003). The book deals with Wesley's liturgy.¹⁰¹¹

¹⁰¹¹ E. Byron Anderson, *Worship and Christian Identity : practice ourselves* (A Pueblo Book published by The Liturgical Press, 2003).

Part IV.

Theology of Internet Eucharist

Chapter 1. Internet Eucharist

In this chapter, it will deal with the possibility of the development of an internet Eucharist and particularly the justification of a Eucharist on cyberspace. The possibility that the internet can be a new prudential means of grace will be considered. The internet is actually not an essential means of grace in its own right, but it is possible that when it is combined with the visible that an internet Eucharist can become an invisible essential means of grace.

1. Characteristics of the internet

1.1. The best media for communication

The interest in the internet, personal computer, mobile phone and other forms of new technology since the late 20th century reflects a new expression of communication. It can be suggested that the Internet provides the best tool for social communication. Today Internet technology is helping to bring about revolutionary changes, direct or indirect, in politics,

economy, education, tourism, journalism, the relationship of nation to nation and culture to culture even religious revival.¹⁰¹² There have been the diversity of religious groups. For instance, Muslims in cyberspace have acted lively.¹⁰¹³ This changes the ways in which people communicate and also what they believe and already does much to meet human needs across the world. Today most churches have used the internet in a variety of ways - for communication, world mission, church ministry and even worship.

The Church has always asserted that human communication should be centered on Jesus as the Lord of life through the action of the Holy Spirit. In the life, death, and resurrection of Christ, communication among men is found its highest ideal and supreme example.

Cultural factors have shaped the role which the modern media should play in social communication. The modern media is an outcome of the historical scientific process which has advanced human life and the discovery of the resources and values of the whole of creation. Before the emergence of the internet into ordinary life radio, TV and satellite were seen by some as the 'gift of God' to help to unite and to transmit the message of salvation. The media can carry information about Christian events, ideas, and personalities. It can serve as a vehicle for evangelization and catechesis. It can provide inspiration and opportunities for worship to people confined in their homes or institutions. It is important to recognize some worries about the use of internet. Such worries include internet addicts, internet fraud, internet hacking and the economic gap between the rich and the poor. The Church has taken a fundamentally positive approach to the internet on the understanding that its use is moral and rooted in the gospel.

¹⁰¹² Patrick Dixon, *Cyberchurch: Christianity and The Internet* (Eastbourne: Kingsway Publication LTD, 1998), pp.47-58.

¹⁰¹³ Cf. Gary B. Bunt, 'Negotiating Islam and Muslims in Cyberspace'(68-77) in *Cyberspace-Cyberethics-Cybertheology* (edited by Eric Borgman, Stephan van Erp and Hille Haker, *Concilium*, 2005/1)

The Church also needs to understand and use the Internet as a tool of internal and external communication. The church has to communicate with others, but also with itself. The Internet church helps communicate better with other church members who is not able to chat at public place.¹⁰¹⁴ This requires keeping clearly in view its special characteristics as a direct, immediate, interactive, and participatory medium.

Already, the two-way interactivity of the Internet is blurring the old distinction between those who communicate and those who receive what is communicated,²⁴ and creating a situation in which, potentially at least, everyone can do both. This is not the one-way, top-down communication of the past. As more and more people become familiar with this basic characteristic of the Internet in other areas of their lives, they can be expected also to look for it in regard to religion and the Church.

So the Church has a two-fold aim regarding the internet in moral and social communications. One aspect in relation to morality is the focusing of the development of the internet on human development, justice, and peace — for the up-building of society at the local, national, and community levels in light of the common good and in a spirit of solidarity. On the other hand, considering the importance of social communications, the Church concentrates on a kind and respectful dialogue. There is a need to support and encourage those involved in media work. On the basis of sympathetic support it becomes possible to offer meaningful access and to remove obstacles to human progress and the proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus.

1.2. Conveyor of the human intention

¹⁰¹⁴ Jean-Nicolas Bazin and Jerome Cottin, *Virtual Christianity: Potential and Challenge for the Churches*, translated from the original French: *Vers un christianisme virtual? Enjeux et défis d'Internet*, Geneva, Labor et Fides, 2003, (WCC Publication, 2004), Pp.75-77.

Human nature is complex. It takes on different encodings, different organizations of the senses, different feelings and different forms of reason. Therefore, the expression of human intention is very varied. Religious spirituality also links deeply with human intention even on the Internet. Laney reported the use of internet which focuses on personal religious beliefs.¹⁰¹⁵ Anscombe described the meaning of intention as 'I am going to'.¹⁰¹⁶ Intention is an act of the will¹⁰¹⁷ by which people employ the necessary means to reach a particular end. It is apparent from this notion that there is a sharply defined difference between intention, volition and demand. In the first instance there is a concentration of the will on the point of resolve that is wholly lacking in the others. In an attempt to determine the value of an action it is customary to distinguish various sorts of intentions, which could have prompted action. It can identify the four kinds of intention.

First, there is the actual intention, operating mainly at an intellectual level. For instance, in the Gospel of Mark 5: 25-34 a sick woman being subject to bleeding for twelve years touched Jesus' cloth. She thought, "If I just touch his clothes, I will be healed" (29). Then her bleeding stopped immediately. Christians may use "faith" instead of actual intention. Actual intention is more interesting on the Internet. When we read the written Bible on the monitor we have the same words as in the material Bible in our hands. This means that the intention of the Bible is alive on the Internet. In other words use of the internet depends on people's actual intention and not the tool of the Internet itself. Thus today's Christians who read the Bible or sermons on the Internet can experience their spiritual intention. The medium and use of language on the Internet has not changed. It simply means that the computer is a new means of transmission. Modern societies have various means of communication. People can communicate with other people being far away without inconvenience for communication

¹⁰¹⁵ Michael J. Laney, 'Christians Web usage Motives and desires' (ch.11, 166-179) in *Religion and Cyberspace*, Edited by Morten T. Hojsgaard and Margit Warburg (London and New York; Routledge, 2005).

¹⁰¹⁶ G.E.M. Anscombe, *Intention* (Oxford: basil Blackwell, 1966). See more *Intention & Intentionality*, ed., by Cora Diamond and Jenny Teichman (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1979)

¹⁰¹⁷ See Wayne. W. Dyer, *The power of the intention: Learning to Co-Create Your World Your Way* (London, Hay house Ltd: 2004); G.E.M. Anscombe, *Intention* (Oxford: basil Blackwell, 1966)

means the transmission of the intention of writers or speakers.

Second, there is virtual intention. Its force is borrowed entirely from *a priori* volition which is witnessed in some of the results produced by it. In other words the virtual intention is not a present act of the will. Rather virtues come about as an effect of a former act and are now at work in order to attain the end. For example, a person having made up his mind to undertake a journey maybe entirely preoccupied with other thoughts during its progress. He will nevertheless be said to retain the virtual intention of reaching his destination. We can easily experience this intention on the Internet

Third a habitual intention is one that once actually existed but no longer continues. The most that can be said of it is that it has never been retracted.

Last, an interpretative intention is one that as a matter of fact has never been surely elicited. There is no actual movement of the will but simply the purpose which it is assumed a person would have had in a given situation had he given thought to the matter

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Actually, without human intention is not possible to undertake ministerial work even in real the church. Actual intention needs to be used on the internet to implement an Internet Eucharist.

As seen above, Wesley held that Jesus' intention of love for people was conveyed by the instituted means of grace. Wesley could recognize that the intention of humans could not be perfect because as a result of the 'unavoidable consequence in present weakness and shortness of human understanding'¹⁰¹⁸ between the true religion and the circumstances that shaped the Church in certain contexts. Wesley thought that this situation would continue until man is glorified. In Christian tradition there have been different forms of intention in relating with Christian faith and doctrines.

¹⁰¹⁸ Ibid.

1.2.1. Incarnation through internet

'It's not the church of God that has a mission, but the God of mission who has a church.'¹⁰¹⁹ That is why the church flows from the gospel doctrines of the incarnation whereby God becomes a human being. In the first chapter of the Gospel of John it says "the Word became flesh and lived among us" (v.14). This means that the Word became flesh and "pitched tent" with us (Heb. 2:17). The absence of any one of these sentences results in something less than Incarnation. When the believer read the Words of scripture it can be alive in his/her life. The present believer can experience the Incarnation through the Eucharist. Incarnation reveals the intention of love as being within the nature of God. In mission the church asks 'how can we show invisible mind to visible world?' In other words, how can the invisible God show His mind to humanity? For a long time the church has used the word 'Incarnation' to describe God becoming human through Jesus. God the Father chooses the way of the 'incarnation' to show His eternal love. Christians believe that the intention of God is clearly shown in Jesus. God comes into human culture to show His intention for humanity. Jesus intended to reveal his love in the Eucharist. When the believer takes the Bread and wine that is incarnation of Jesus. When the believer who is administrated in the Internet takes the bread and wine this could be called 'incarnation through internet'

1.2.2. Symbols: between God or people and people.

Human intentions need certain symbols or tools to be transmitted to other people. So, 'symbols are a part of our everyday lives.'¹⁰²⁰ In particular without symbols the church cannot imagine worship. Worship influences human feeling, thought and experience through language, words and symbols. Ramshaw states that we need human symbols to understand

¹⁰¹⁹ Tim Dearborn, quoted in *Mission-shaped Church*, p. 85.

¹⁰²⁰ Pete Ward, *Worship & Youth Culture* (Marshall Pickering, 1993), p.124.

God's intention.¹⁰²¹ In encountering the words and symbols of church tradition Christians discover that people in the past have had similar needs and experiences. In this respect, Walker's statement about church symbols is right;

"Liturgy, as divine drama, tells again the old, old story ... [it] demands words and images of wisdom and power, theologically significant body language, lights, colours, smells and food. If we are asking contemporary culture to 'come and see', we must have something to show them as well as something to say."¹⁰²²

Paul Ricoeur says that the fate of religious language and symbols relates to cultural flow.

'religious traditions use ontologically potent language and imagery to illuminate all that ultimately concerns human beings – our questions about life's meaning, our confrontation with death, our struggles to be at home in the universe. Our individual and corporate worlds are underdeveloped and impoverished because we no longer have a public symbolic language that speaks both to the brokenness and the intimations of transcendence in our lives' ¹⁰²³

Therefore the contemporary church should seek to develop new symbols.

1.2.3. Intention in the internet

Correctly speaking, when we talk on the Internet with e-mail or voices and pictures, human intentions pass through a stream of bits such as "0" and "1". Of course, we do not read only "0" or "1". We see that the purpose of the use of a tool such as '0 and 1' is to make transmitting intentions easier. Making words with digital word '0 and 1' is an incarnational act

¹⁰²¹ Elaine Ramshaw, *Ritual and Pastoral Care* (Philadelphia, Fortress, 1987), p.61.

¹⁰²² Andrew Walker, *Telling the story: Gospel Mission & Culture* (London, SPCK), 1996, p.99.

¹⁰²³ Paul Ricoeur, *Figuring the Sacred: Religion, Narrative, and Imagination*, trans. Davis Pellauer, ed. Mark I Wallace (Minneapolis, Fortress, 1995, p. 15.

because it translates the intentions of internet users.¹⁰²⁴ When the believer talks with the use of digital words, a speaker's inner intention is passed to another person in the form of voices, letters or pictures in real world, which people see or hear and feel as in the natural space. So in cyberspace the use of "1" and "0" enables people to transmit their intentions to others. If we have a doubt that digital words can express "intention" we may have to ask whether or not existing means of communication are useful. In this event we would need to admit that all kinds of human languages and communication are imperfect ways of expressing human intentions. If intention can be expressed on the Internet as it can through existing communication forms can we expect to see the development of an internet church in the future?

Therefore, I think of the computer as a new human communication tool which can develop Christian spirituality. With this recognition, it is possible to describe the computer as a "Spiritual machine". Kurzweil states that there is no reason why conscious intelligence could not be downloaded onto a computer that would then be me, or a replication of me.¹⁰²⁵ The church should also be concerned with 'evil intentions' in the media, as Bluck states:

"The church must relate to the media in a manner which is pastoral, evangelical and prophetic. Pastorally it must try to understand the tensions of those who work in the media and assist them to perform their work in ways which affirm human values. Evangelically, the church must resist the temptation to use the media in ways which violate people's dignity and manipulate them, but rather should proclaim with humility and conviction the truth entrusted to it."¹⁰²⁶

With the verification with some evidence, is spiritual communication possible on the

¹⁰²⁴ David Lochhead, *Shifting Realities*, p.56.

¹⁰²⁵ Ray Kurzweil, *The Age of Spiritual Machines* (New York: Viking, 2000)

¹⁰²⁶ John Bluck, *Beyond technology* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1984), p. 89.

cyberspace?¹⁰²⁷

1.3. Internet as Prudential Culture

Wesley believed that nature and human culture created prudential means of grace: Time (the Lord's Day, Morning prayer meeting, Evening preaching, watch night service), Space (Open-air Eucharist and open-air preaching, anywhere people request. On ship, in street, on the tomb), Scientific Technology (publications, transports, invention of electronic to treatment, Medicines, organs), Generations (education school, training preachers, Gender), Attitudes (kneeling for receiving elements of Eucharist), Revising orders in worship or meetings to help spiritual growth, Organizations (class meeting, bands, the selected, society, love-feast/Agape, orphans houses, languages, Music/Hymns, Social orders/Church order, charity works(orphans, schools, collections for the poor, visiting the sick and imprisoned), and so on.

Last century there were Christian scholars who were interested in how to understand religious cultures such as Paul Tillich (1886 – 1965), Christopher Dawson (1898 -1970) and Richard Niebuhr (1919 - 1962).

Tillich studied Religion and Culture. He used the term 'the Method of correlation' to understand the tension between them. His theological starting point was that of context (*Seat of Life; Sitz im Leben*). His own theological context was that of an industrial society where religion and culture were not separated.¹⁰²⁸ They combine with and create each other. So Tillich famously said, 'Religion is not a special function of man's spiritual life, but it is the

¹⁰²⁷ 'The Episcopal New Service Story' on the Trinity Wall St. September 1999 Conference on the Future of the Church.

¹⁰²⁸ For Tillich, all existential questions of human existence are associated with the field of philosophy and, more specifically, ontology. See. Paul Tillich, *Systematic Theology*, 1951–63 (3 volumes- University of Chicago Press; *Volume 1* (1951); *Volume 2: Existence and the Christ* (1957); *Volume 3: Life and the Spirit: History and the Kingdom of God* (1963).

dimension of depth in all of its functions'¹⁰²⁹.

In Britain, an English-speaking Catholic scholar of Culture, Dawson (1889-1970) wrote *The Age of the Gods* (1928). In it he understood that the basis of every culture was formed by religion. He maintained his belief in religion's formative role in Europe's past. This time occupied a pre-eminent place in Dawson's scholarly output, including his influential Gifford Lectures which were given in Edinburgh in 1947-48 and later published as *Religion and Culture*.¹⁰³⁰ Dawson maintained his whole life to restore the Christian spirituality. Dawson wrote many books to explain how and why we lost the vision of these common values and the unity in our civilization. His concern was "how to preserve the spiritual inheritance of Europe and restore a common purpose to Western civilization"¹⁰³¹ After World War II Dawson did not advocate a return to some ideal past, or the establishment of a Carolingian *Imperio Sacro*. He studied the Middle Ages as a means of understanding the nature of Christian culture. As he says, "we cannot leave this [the study of Christian culture] to the medievalists alone, for they are to some extent themselves tied to the error by the limitations of their specialism. Christian culture is not the same thing as medieval culture. It existed before the middle Ages began and it continued to exist after they had ended. We cannot understand medieval culture unless we study its foundations in the age of the Fathers."¹⁰³² Dawson suggests that each new generation needs a new culture to restore Christian spirituality.

Richard Niebuhr's book, *Christ and Culture*¹⁰³³ focuses on the task of restoring Christian

¹⁰²⁹ Paul Tillich, *Theology of Culture*, edited by Robert C. Kimball (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p.42. and see Wilhelm & Marion Pauck, *Paul Tillich, His Life and Thought*, vol.1:Life(Harper & Row, 1976)

¹⁰³⁰ Christopher Dawson, *Religion and Culture*, 1948, pp.47-49.

¹⁰³¹ Christopher Dawson, *Understanding Europe* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1953).p. 45.

¹⁰³² Christopher Dawson, *The Crisis of Western Education* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961), p. 131.

¹⁰³³ Helmut Richard Niebuhr's *Christ and Culture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952). Niebuhr was born in Wright City, USA, 1894. He was graduated from Elmhurst College (1912), Eden Theological

spiritual culture. Niebuhr wanted to discover the best way of retaining Christian identity and its calling for the world. Niebuhr attempted to explore the basic Christian theological approach to Christ and Culture. He strived to distinguish the relationship between Church and Culture. He recognised that people can have different definitions of culture.¹⁰³⁴ He wrote,

'This 'social heritage', this 'reality sui generis', which the New Testament writes frequently hand in mind when they spoke of 'the world', which is represented in many forms but to which Christians like other men are inevitably subject, is what we mean when we speak of culture.'¹⁰³⁵

All religions exist in society and within culture. Consequently Christians must reveal their faith within a cultural context. Jesus comes into an earthly culture from outside human culture. The wide range of cultural perspectives continues to pose a problem. This is incarnational theology.¹⁰³⁶ Jesus becomes Christ of human being through within the culture. Niebuhr was concerned with Christian attitudes towards Culture.¹⁰³⁷ He offered five different models, based on past Church history.¹⁰³⁸ Niebuhr suggested that conversionists focused on the goodness/right intention of the creation between Christ and Culture. The

Seminary (1915). He was ordained at United Church of Christ in 1916, then ministried till 1918. Worked at Eden Theological Seminary (1919-1922), Yail theological college (1923), Elmhurst College (1924-1927), Yale Divinity School (1927-1931). And then again Yale Divinity School (1931-1962) in it, he thought in Sterling Professor of Theology & Christian Ethics.

¹⁰³⁴ For example, Oswald defined, 'Culture comprises language, habits, ideas, beliefs, customs, social organization, inherited artefacts, technical processes, and values.' Spengler Oswald, '*The Decline of the West*' (Vol. I, pp. 31 f, 351 ff, 1926); Cited by Niebuhr, Malinowski Bronislaw, article. 'Culture' in *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. IV, pp. 621ff; Dawson Christopher, *Religion and Culture*, 1947, p. 47.

¹⁰³⁵ Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, p. 46.

¹⁰³⁶ Kraybill, 'Gospel, Church, and Culture', *Brethren in Christ History & Life*, p. 9.

¹⁰³⁷ Niebuhr followed the methodology of Ernest Troeltsh, who wrote 'Social teaching of Christ Church' and devoted the problem of the relationship between Church and Culture. Roughly Niebuhr's view is divided into three parts. Firstly: Opposites (Christ against Culture), Secondly: Accordant form (Christ of Culture), and Thirdly: Synthetic forms, holding two sides, Affirmative and Negative. The latter is divided into three: Transcendental Form (Christ above Culture) both in consecutive and discontinuous forms and Dualistic Form (Christ and Culture in paradox), which separates Christ and Culture, and Transformable Culture Form.

¹⁰³⁸ See Niebuhr's definition of Christ and Culture, pp. 26-52.

conversionist should not reject the cultural tradition, but try to redirect, reinvigorate and regenerate it. Niebuhr illustrated this by means of the conversionists' theological convictions:

First, conversionists agree with Paul who affirms that in Christ

'all things were created, in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or dominions and principalities or authorities - all things were created through him and for him.'¹⁰³⁹

'For the conversionist the creation activity of God and Christ-in-God is a major theme, neither over powered by nor overpowering the idea of atonement. Hence man the creature, working in a created world, lives, as the conversionist sees it, under the rule of Christ and by the creative power and ordering the divine Word.'¹⁰⁴⁰

Second, it is necessary to consider how conversionists understand the nature of man's fall from his created goodness.¹⁰⁴¹ However, Christian religious culture, which is the goal of the Church on earth, continues to struggle within its relationship with other religions, thoughts and faiths. This is because cultural values are subordinated to each social faith.¹⁰⁴²

¹⁰³⁹ Ibid., p.193.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Ibid., p.194.

¹⁰⁴¹ Ibid., pp.195,196.

'The conversionist agrees with the dualist in asserting the fall very sharply from creation, and from the conditions of life in the body. It is a kind of reversal of creation for him, and in no sense its continuation. It is moral and personal, not physical and metaphysical, though it does have physical consequences. ... The word that must be used here to designate the consequences of the fall is 'corruption'. Man's good nature has become corrupted. ... It is perverted good, not evil: or it is evil as perversion, and not as badness of being. The problem of culture is therefore the problem of its conversion, not of its replacement by a new creation; though the conversion is so radical that it amounts to a kind of rebirth.'

¹⁰⁴² Niebuhr notes,

'the conclusions at which we arrive individually in seeking to be Christians in our culture are relative in at least four ways. They depend on the partial, in complete, fragmentary knowledge of the individual; they are relative to the measure of his faith and his unbelief; they are related to the historical position. He occupies and to the duties of his station in society; they are concerned with the relative values of things.' (Niebuhr, 1952, p. 233.)

Thirdly, with these convictions about creation and fall the conversionist combines a view of history that holds that to God all things are possible in a history that is not merely the course of human events but a dramatic interaction between God and men.

‘For the conversionist history is the story of God's mighty deeds and of man's responses to them. Eternity means for them less the action of God before time and less the life with God after time, and more the presence of God in time.’¹⁰⁴³

However, the problem for Culture is human nature which perverts Culture as a result of human sin. As such it becomes opposed to Christ. Nevertheless, the goodness of the creation that God made ensures that the sacred and the secular are not separate realms. This is because Christ is over all, since he has reconciled the world to God. All of life is under his sovereignty. Human Culture can and should be transformed by Christ as he converts Christian souls. The common life should not be negated or depreciated but seen as a holy calling from God.

Niebuhr saw Wesley as a transformer of Culture.¹⁰⁴⁴ Wesley actively utilised the culture of

Niebuhr did not deal with the fact that there is no norm that can be described as Christian Culture. For this I think Christians should stand between Christ side or Culture side accepting that there is no one has cultural norm. Even in the Church Christians cannot evade cultural discord. This may be due, in part, to the relativism of faith.

¹⁰⁴³ Niebuhr, 1952, pp.196-7. More to describe,

‘... Eternal life is a quality of existence in the here and now. Hence the conversionist is less concerned with conservation of what has been given in creation, less with preparation for what will be given in a final redemption, than with the divine possibility of a present renewal. ... with his view of creation and Culture as in awareness of the power of the Lord to transform all things by lifting them up to himself. His imagery is spatial and not temporal; movement of life he finds to be issuing from Jesus Christian upward movement, the rising of men's souls and deeds and thoughts in a mighty surge of adoration and glorification of the One who draws them to himself. This is what human culture can be - a transformed human life in and to the glory of God. For man it is impossible, but all things are possible to God, who has created man, body and soul, for Himself, and sent his Son into the world that the world through him might be saved.’

¹⁰⁴⁴ St Augustine (354-430), Calvin (1509-1564) and Maurice (1805-1872) most clearly advocated Christ as the transformer. Those who believe in Christ as the transformer of culture have built on the abiding gracious power of God for life in the world today. However, they have no enviable track record

his own day to transform society on the basis of his evangelical aims and search for Christian perfection.

To deal with an internet Eucharist it is necessary to consider the relationship between Christians and the internet (as a modern cultural form). I would like to refer to the theological attitude of Niebuhr's conversionists who transformed the culture as the evangelist Wesley did. How did Wesley face human cultures? If Wesley were living today, he would consider how to use the internet for evangelism. Would he think of planting the internet church and even administering the Eucharist? On this point Wesley may be seriously worried about the physical fellowship around the Eucharistic table. Nevertheless he may be concerned that there are particular people who are in certain corners where there are no pastoral carers.

1.4. Internet as format of language, communication styles and mode of Eucharist.

A feature of the internet is that it carries words, sound, pictures and videos. This feature could reform two aspects of the Eucharistic. First the language of the Eucharist could be re-shaped through the use of Internet words, pictures, sound, and videos. Second it is possible to draw upon the diversity of communication styles on the internet to re-format Eucharistic worship, thereby creating modes of Eucharistic worship on the internet.

1.4.1. The Language

It is possible to read much of Wesley's Eucharistic theology on the web. For instance, a website, *Wesley Center Online* includes most of Wesley's works:<http://wesley.nnu.edu/>. Likewise, there have been instituted means of grace written in English: online scriptures, resources for prayer and Eucharistic languages along with music, songs and their lyrics.

to show where they, in following the teaching of Christ, have extensively transformed Culture.

Thankfully, English is today the lingua franca of many countries internally and as an international language for business and political communication.¹⁰⁴⁵ However on the internet people speak English in greatly different formats of English in different parts of the world, across different age groups and different cultures.

New contextualised versions of Wesley's works can help people to understand his Eucharistic theology and its practical implications for an internet generation. Particularly for the educated new generation who can use the internet a contemporary version of Wesley's Eucharistic theology using today's prose would be of interest and would aid reading and understanding.

1.4.2. Communication styles

Words and gestures are needed in worship. The quality of video and audio on the internet can help people to communicate effectively. The long tradition of living as a 'collective' has ensured that related members learnt intuitively the shared values and assumptions and the importance of maintaining group harmony. Law stresses that words in worship are not needed as much to convey communally 'known' issues.¹⁰⁴⁶ Non-verbal communication can speak louder than the verbal in such contexts. Picture–language or the use of image is the natural way of perceiving, articulating and communicating,¹⁰⁴⁷ rather than prose and poetry. Lane says that some cultures have less concern for doctrine but more practice and action.¹⁰⁴⁸ The body is usefully utilised for worship and for learning spiritual concepts. Wesley required people to kneel as receiving the Eucharistic elements in intending to be

¹⁰⁴⁵ English is the dominant language of the internet. In late 1990's, Patrick Dixon reported the positive reflection on emerging internet churches. For it English for church mission on the internet has very strong advantage. English was used in 60 percentages of world broadcasts, 70 % of world mail, 85% of international calls and 80% of all computer data.(Dixon, 1998, pp.154-155).

¹⁰⁴⁶ Law, 1993, p.30.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Amirtham, 1988, p. 83.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Lane, 1997, p. 57.

humble. If Wesley's spirituality is carried on the internet, the attendants may be concerned that the working of video and audio might utilise more body-involving humble, image-lined style of communication rather than mere formal words.

There have been many diverse Eucharistic renewals across the world. True church, worship can include words, music and symbols - actions, pictures, colours and shapes. As seen above, Ward says that 'Symbols are a part of our everyday lives.'¹⁰⁴⁹ In fact, without symbols we cannot imagine how to worship together. Ramshaw describes that we need human symbols to understand God's intention.¹⁰⁵⁰ Walker critic;

"Liturgy, as divine drama, tells again the old, old story ... [it] demands words and images of wisdom and power, theologically significant body language, lights, colours, smells and food. If we are asking contemporary culture to 'come and see', we must have something to show them as well as something to say."¹⁰⁵¹

Internet liturgy as an active divine drama has made live worship possible at a distance.

1.4.3. Modes for internet Eucharist.

The internet Eucharist needs to be developed in new and flexible ways that take account of cultural, educational, physical, mental and geographical differences. For instance, the internet videos with subtitles and sound can be helpful for the disabled: deaf and blind that are at home because of physical reasons. People however must first have a good quality internet connection and access to the web if they are to be included in the creation and use of a new internet Eucharistic life. Moreover, they should understand Wesley's Eucharistic spirituality if they are to fully appreciate this development. Such initiatives can be useful for

¹⁰⁴⁹ Pete Ward, *Worship & Youth Culture* (Marshall Pickering, 1993), p.124.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Elaine Ramshaw, *Ritual and Pastoral Care* (Philadelphia, Fortress, 1987), p.61.

¹⁰⁵¹ Andrew Walker, *Telling the story: Gospel Mission & Culture* (London, SPCK), 1996, p.99.

people who are involved in the grass-roots ministry of the Methodist Church such as ministers, missionaries, evangelists, social workers, youth workers, musicians and so on. Such people can promote an online Eucharist through their passionate advocacy. Wesley developed modes of Eucharistic life according to people's ability as well as in *espacio-tiempo*. Examples of this include the Eucharistic hymnals, the creation of conferences (class meeting or bands), visiting the sick and preaching services – all pointing towards the centrality the Eucharist to Christian life. It is important to note the need to develop varied models of Eucharistic renewal across the world.

How can Wesley's Eucharistic fervour refresh into contemporary symbols in the internet by audio-visual tool of computer or smart phone?

kneeling for taking the Eucharist can be required for people in front of the monitor/mobile phone at home or in a corner at work. It makes home or work a holy place. It achieves the holy life in ordinary life. It happened in the church building or particular places. In General, singing the Eucharistic hymns might be an easier challenge to implement.¹⁰⁵² As *HLS* for the Methodist communion and the Covenant service would be able to be refreshed for introducing people to Wesley's Eucharist. The *HLS* in particular has played a major role in the Eucharistic formation.

2. Internet Church and its activities

2.1. Real services in virtual world

Internet services first began to appear in 1996. O'Leary explored the ritual performances of

¹⁰⁵² Songs is popular and many people still enjoy. Cf, David M. Chapman states the needs of active use of songs to recover the early Methodist recognition that church revival should be with songs, *Born in Song* Methodist Worship in Britain.

"technopagans" as evidenced in transcripts of virtual services. According to him, within these performances there is an "attempt to recreate or simulate real space in virtual space and to sanctify a portion of this space as a theatre in which spirit is manifested".¹⁰⁵³ Such performances also, however, contain irreverent, ludic or parodic elements. As O'Leary also points out the interaction of text, graphics, video and sound open up a range of ritual possibilities that may have profound consequences for the symbolic expression of religiosity, while on-line text-based ritual lacks physical presence.¹⁰⁵⁴

More recently we can see cyber services on the internet. For instance a 3-D church on the Internet now exists in Britain. This experiment was launched by a Christian website, *Ship of Fools* on May 11 2004, and is named *Church of Fools*. BBC news said, "The rafters, pulpit, altar and pews look real enough, in a cartoon-ish way. But the preacher and members of the congregation will actually be real, connecting via the web to each other to take part in real services."¹⁰⁵⁵



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I believe that the churches should view the Internet communities as new kinds of human community which reflect the human intention to fashion a new relationship. We may therefore need to focus on what 'intention' is and what it means to be human since a Google

¹⁰⁵³ O'Leary, S. "Cyberspace as sacred space: Communicating religion on computer networks" *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* (LXIV(4) 1996), p. 803.

¹⁰⁵⁴ See O'Leary, S. *Ibid.*, pp.781-808.

¹⁰⁵⁵ http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/magazine/3623525.stm, on Tuesday, 13 April, 2004, 17:13 GMT 18:13 UK. The British Methodist Church sponsors it.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Picture from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/magazine/3623525.stm, on Tuesday, 13 April, 2004, 17:13 GMT 18:13 UK.

search reveals that there are now around 181,000,000 web sites providing information about internet churches in UK, and internet Eucharist: 1,640,000.¹⁰⁵⁷

2.2. Virtual community

The Internet has become a new community builder within a new space. We can see this when people switch on their computers, go to a website, send an email or enter a chat room internet. However, this does not mean that they enter a social and public space of communication. Such a space is not a material space. The world of 'cyberspace' is a metaphor.¹⁰⁵⁸ Already the Internet has quickly become a global medium that is as central and valuable to our lives as the telephones of the 1920s and the television in the 1950s.

Personal and interactive relationships are formed by a new space, cyberspace. The Internet has become close to our ordinary life. People can easily overlook the 'Net's astonishing ability to bring people together. Each individual with access can keep in touch with family and friends, get breaking news and discuss its implications, use the incredible search engine resources for research, comparison, shopping and more.

The Internet can be compared to sitting in the living room. It is a powerful spiritual companioning tool. The Internet brings like-minded people together. We can meet new people and make valuable contacts through blogs or in internet cafes where people who have the same concerns gather. In addition the Internet's influence is clearly felt in politics¹⁰⁵⁹, education, business and the media. These interactive Internet services make our

¹⁰⁵⁷ On 12 March 2012

¹⁰⁵⁸ Ottmar John, 'Cyberethics: New Challenges or Old Problems?', *Concilium*, No.1, (2005), p.15.

¹⁰⁵⁹ For example, when there was a presidential election in South Korea in 2002. There was a great influence that an Internet community called "NOSAMO" was established to support a candidate who wanted to be the president of South Korea. Benjamin Barber says about the possibility of 'strong' democracy by using the Internet. See. Benjamin R. barter, "Three Scenarios for the Future of Technology and Strong Democracy" in *Political Science Quarterly*, No.113, (1998), pp. 573-589.

lives easier and more convenient. Almost every culture and nation now uses it easily. Every age group can be significantly involved from young school children to elderly users with similar interests.

Furthermore some people who may have been excluded or feel rejected by religions may find spiritual community online. People who have been reluctant to attend a traditional church or a church where they experienced hurt or rejection may find an Internet church where they can share their experiences of faith, expect spiritual hospitality, generosity, and pray with a simple click. I will give some cases of Internet communities.

Internet Churches represent virtual communities. Recently, in an encyclopedia on an internet site a definition of community includes 'Virtual community'.¹⁰⁶⁰ Concerning the Internet community, Howard Rheingold was the first to use the term "Virtual community."¹⁰⁶¹ Mitchell describes the facing challenges with cyberspace. One of them is definition of 'community' and 'assembly'.¹⁰⁶² *The New York Times* (23 August 1998) reported : the Catholic of the future ' may find that their "congregation" is a worldwide on-line prayer community.'¹⁰⁶³

The understanding of community includes the idea of "interaction" with each other. When people speak of a group as a community, this typically implies or evokes their interaction in some sense of harmonious, egalitarian social form sharing their values and lives. "Virtual community" is the product of computer communication. The speed of computer communication can make a qualitative difference between an electronic exchange and the

¹⁰⁶⁰ "Community is a set of people (or agents in a more abstract sense) with some shared element. Also a community is a group of people or things that live in the same area. The substance of shared element varies widely, from a situation to interest to lives and values. The term is widely used to evoke sense of collectivity. When there is a clearly shared-interest (economic or otherwise) among a set of people, the people collectively might be called community. ... In a stricter use of the term, community is a group of people who interact with each other. A virtual community, a group of people exchanging messages or other types of information, is a community in this sense."
<http://www.brainyencyclopedia.com/encyclopedia/c/co/community.html>.

¹⁰⁶¹ See Howard Rheingold, *The virtual community: Homesteading on the Electronic Frontier* (Reading MA, Addison-Wesley), 1993.

¹⁰⁶² Nathan D. Mitchell, 'Ritual and New Media'(90-98) in *Cyberspace-Cyberethics-Cybertheology* (edited by Eric Borgman, Stephan van Erp and Hille Haker, Concilium, 2005/1),p. 95.

¹⁰⁶³ Quoted in *ibid.*,

slower methods of correspondence of the past. Although all of the physical dimensions of the face-to-face encounter are absent in electronic mail and conferencing, the transmission of electronic messages creates what we may describe as a “virtual reality”. Stacy Horn also says that an Internet group is a community.¹⁰⁶⁴ Howard Rheingold defines the virtual community:

“Virtual communities are social aggregations that emerge from the Net when enough people carry on ... public discussions long enough, with sufficient human feeling, to form webs of personal relationships in cyberspace.”¹⁰⁶⁵

With regard to the question, ‘could the Internet spawn communities in the proper sense?’ Gordan Graham has found the Internet to have the potential for electronic community as a new community.¹⁰⁶⁶ Although he also recognizes that a disadvantage of the Internet is that ‘the claim that the internet is a form of moral anarchy, we may recall, has now been made more precise: the charge is that it intensifies the destructive nature of radical individualism’, the internet can be used with equal purpose by other groups.¹⁰⁶⁷ He understands the Internet communities in the world as ordinary communities. Although there are disadvantages to note as participants on the internet can disguise the privacy or personal properties - gender, race, face. The ‘Virtual world’ is a kind of real world. Graham calls this as ‘Virtual reality’.¹⁰⁶⁸ It is formed by those who are interested in meeting in a common concern as normal communities in the real world. Hence, making a new community on the internet depends upon how a group interacts in terms of intention, aim or spirit. This is also true of Internet communities.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Stacy Horn, *Cyberville* (New York: Warner Books, 1998)

¹⁰⁶⁵ Howard Rheingold, *the Virtual Community: Homesteading on the Electronic frontier* (Reading, MA, Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1993), p. 5.

¹⁰⁶⁶ See Gordon Graham, *the Internet:// a philosophical inquiry* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp.128-150

¹⁰⁶⁷ Ibid., p.141.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Ibid., pp.158-160.

Internet churches can become communities which offer Christian activities and an active example of the instituted means of grace. Internet churches can resemble other virtual communities. Where they just offer information about a true church's activities without interactions they cannot be called a church.

2.3. Activities

The Internet is relevant to many church activities and programs — evangelization, including re-evangelization and new evangelization, and the traditional missionary work *ad gentes*, catechesis and other kinds of education, news and information, apologetics, governance and administration, and some forms of pastoral counseling and spiritual direction. Although the virtual reality of cyberspace cannot substitute for real interpersonal community, the incarnational reality of the sacraments and the liturgy, or the immediate and direct proclamation of the gospel, it can complement them, attract people to a fuller experience of the life of faith and enrich the religious lives of users. It also provides the Church with a means for communicating with particular groups, particularly young people and young adults, the elderly and the home-bound, persons living in remote areas and the members of other religious bodies who otherwise may be difficult to reach.

A growing number of parishes, dioceses, religious congregations, and church-related institutions, programs, and organizations of all kinds now make effective use of the Internet. Creative projects under Church sponsorship exist in some places on the national and regional levels. The Holy See has been active in this area for several years and is continuing to expand and develop its Internet presence. Church-related groups that have not yet taken steps to enter cyberspace are encouraged to look into the possibility of doing so. The exchange of ideas and information about the Internet among those with experience in the field and those who are newcomers is often strongly recommended.

2.4. Sharing spirituality

Sharing spirituality involves interaction in a way of life. It involves practicing one's faith in a particular life-situation, even on the Internet. Downey's study of spirituality helps us to explore Eucharistic spirituality and to understand the underlying spirituality of a worshipping community in relation to communion. Downey suggests that we think of "spirituality" as a rich term which operates on four levels. The first level refers to what it fundamentally means to be human - an embodied spirit in the world. By doing so, it is recognised that every human "has the capacity to receive and transmit life, to be open to being, life, and relationship." The second level is that of "spirituality" as the expression of experience and of being aware of ourselves and of God. This can include "mystical, theological, ethical, psychological, political, and even physical aspects of experience." Thirdly, it refers to our reflecting on spiritual experiences and having insight into what they might mean. Lastly, "spirituality" can mean the disciplined study of the experience of Christian spiritual life.¹⁰⁶⁹ Downey understands that this disciplined study is of the interaction between the Holy Spirit and the human spirit. The disciplined study of spirituality has seven focal points- (1) within a culture, (2) In relation to a tradition, (3) In light of contemporary events, hopes, sufferings and promises, (4) In Remembrance of Jesus Christ, (5) In effects to combine elements of action and contemplation, (6) With respect to charism and community, and (7) As Expressed and authenticated in practice. This means the exploration of spirituality interacts with persons in relation and in context.

A recent definition of distance education by The Association of Theological Schools is as follows

"A mode of education in which major components of the program, including course work, occur

¹⁰⁶⁹ Michael Downey, *Understanding Christian Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press, 1997), p.42.

when students and instructors are not in the same location. Instruction may be synchronous or asynchronous and usually encompasses the use of a wide range of technologies.”¹⁰⁷⁰

In theological education, Raymond Williams says, “The new technologies have great potential for enhancing the education of pastors, transmitting the gospel, and creating Christian wisdom in the new information age.”¹⁰⁷¹ Since the use of computer technologies has grown from word processing the potential of internet technology for theological education has been demonstrated, for instance, in “the Almond Springs”¹⁰⁷² established by Scott Cormode and his team at the Claremont School of Theology. On this site they deal with the teaching of practical and pastoral theology, church leadership, finance and administration, Christian education, and homiletics.¹⁰⁷³ Cormode says the purpose of his own web site is

“the leaders crave wisdom, and wisdom takes practice. Wisdom does not come from a book or lecture. And, contrary to what we might think, wisdom does not come from experience alone. Wisdom comes from reflection, reflection that combines learning from articles, advice from colleagues, and experience. The Christian Leaders Web site offers a place for leaders to cultivate wisdom and to practice theological reflection”¹⁰⁷⁴

In particular, Internet communities can enable instructors to talk with learners and learners to talk to each other. Two-way conversations can take place when they chat at the same time. Hence, Gordon Graham says a characteristic of Internet communication is that it can represent a ‘gender-blind’ form of exchange, which is impossible in face-to-face contact. A

¹⁰⁷⁰ Aleshire, Daniel O.; Amos, Katherine E.; and Merrill, Nancy, “ Theme Introduction [‘Educational Technology and Distance Education: Issuers and Implications for Theological Education’],” *Theological Education*, No. 36, (1999), p. 10.

¹⁰⁷¹ Raymond B Williams, “Getting Technical.” *The Christian Century* 118, No.5, (2001), p.14.

¹⁰⁷² www.christianleaders.org

¹⁰⁷³ See more Scott Cormore, “Using Computers in Theological Education: Rules of Thumb”, *Theological Education* 36, No. 1(1999), pp.101-115.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Scott Cormore, “Wisdom via the Web? Preparing Leaders.”(16-17), *The Christian Century* 118, No. 5 (2001), p.17.

similar point could be made about race.¹⁰⁷⁵ Via the Internet church the communicants can also share their concerns according to the Eucharist.

However, there is a big problem, as Palloff and Pratt pointed out that at the core of the online learning is the ability for students to regularly participate in ongoing threaded discussions.¹⁰⁷⁶ Nevertheless, we may not ignore the popularity of this trend in online distance fellowship.¹⁰⁷⁷ It is important therefore to explore ways in which Christian works can be developed on the Internet.

Chapter 2. Revisiting the Means of Grace

Regarding the Internet Eucharist, one key concern relates to the possibility of experiencing the presence of Christ in the internet. Is it possible to experience the presence of Christ in the Internet?

Wesley expected Methodists to experience the presence of God and retain its love through frequent and regular reception of the Eucharist. Through Christian actions, the believer can experience the presence of Jesus at the Eucharist. In terms of the Presence of Jesus, the early 20th century liturgist Casel suggested that the Eucharist should be seen as having the same value as the incarnation within theology. He devoted his whole life to the Mystery of the Eucharist. For Casel the essential point within the mystery of the liturgy is well shown in the term, “presence of God”.¹⁰⁷⁸ He found out how the ancients understood the mystery of the salvation after Jesus’ resurrection and ascension. “Mysteries are originally the secret

¹⁰⁷⁵ Gordon Graham, *the Internet: // a philosophical inquiry* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 143.

¹⁰⁷⁶ See Palloff, Rena M. and Pratt, Keith, *Lessons from the Cyberspace Classroom: Realities of Online Teaching* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 2001)

¹⁰⁷⁷ See web course designs. For instance, Web Design Principles: [http:// trace.wisc.edu/world/](http://trace.wisc.edu/world/); Yale Web Style Guide: <http://info.med.yale.edu/caim/manual/contents.html>; Effectively Using Electronic Conferencing: <http://www.indiana.edu/~ecopts/ectips.html>.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Odo Casel, *The mystery of Christian worship, and Other writings (Afterwards Mystery)*, edited by Burkhard Neunheuser, O.S.B. (London: Darton, Longman&Todd, 1962), pp.7, 8.

celebrations and consecrations of the ancient mystery cults.”¹⁰⁷⁹ Casel understood that Paul believed in presence of mystery in the Sacraments. Casel also had a conviction that Paul recognised the value of the Spirit (*pneuma*¹⁰⁸⁰) in relation to the Presence of Jesus in the Sacraments. “Through the *pneuma* the Christian is made like Christ, the *pneuma* in person and thereby is himself anointed with this *pneuma*, as Cyril of Jerusalem tells us.”¹⁰⁸¹ So “*sacramentum* took on the whole range of meaning present that *Mysterion* had had.”¹⁰⁸² Thus, for Casel, Christ is present in the liturgy of the Church and in particular its two main “sacraments” or “mysteries”, viz. Baptism¹⁰⁸³ and Eucharist. Christ and his saving actions must be present to save present people.¹⁰⁸⁴ Particularly the Eucharist is a living moment of His sacrifice today. “Christ offers Himself in a sacramental manner: ‘in His mystery He suffers for us anew’ ”.¹⁰⁸⁵ That is the intention of the Eucharist that Jesus gives us. I will deal with more the meanings of the Eucharist in the next chapter.

Moreover, there are several ways that Christ is present for us in the Eucharist. There is a gospel reading, so Christ is present in the Word.¹⁰⁸⁶ Christ is the true presiding minister, so

¹⁰⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 54.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Ibid., pp.11,13,15, and 17.

“By his passion the Lord became *pneuma*, accordingly, we too have been filled with *pneuma* through the mystical passion in baptism and the spiritual resurrection which flowed from it: we have become spiritual men. ... *pneuma* means the life of godhead, which the Lord gives us, now he is raised up to it. ... Possession of the *pneuma* is according to Peter, Paul, and John, the mark of the Christian.” “For in one spirit was all baptized into one body.” (I Cor. 12,13)

¹⁰⁸¹ Ibid., p.17.

¹⁰⁸² Ibid., p.56.

¹⁰⁸³ Ibid., p.149.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Casel said “The saving acts of Christ are so necessary to the Christian that he cannot be a true Christian unless he lives them after and with Christ. It is not the teaching of Christ that makes the Christian, It is not the simple application of his grace; it is total identification with the person of Christ obtained in reliving his life. The community of love, of life, of being acquired through union in suffering and in activity.” Odo Casel, “Mysteriengegenwart,” in *Jahrbuch*, VIII (1928), p.175. Quoted by Bernard J. O’Keefe, “Casel and Calvin on the Eucharist”, (8-24) in *Canadian Journal of Theology* (11 Jan 1965), pp.12-13.

¹⁰⁸⁵ *Mystery*, p.22.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Cf. “World Council of Churches Celebrations of the Eucharist in Ecumenical Contexts: A proposal from a Group meeting at Bossey” (94-101) *Studia Liturgica*, No.27,(1997), p.97.

“The service of the word in such an Eucharist includes two clear components: scripture reading from the Old and the New Testaments, and Proclamation of the crucified and risen Jesus Christ as the source and ground of our life in God’s grace. Readings and preaching

Christ is present in the human minister who stands in for him. The Eucharistic community is made one body with Christ, so Christ is present in the community. After the words of institution, Christ is present in the bread and wine. With all these "multiple presences" of Christ in the Eucharist, we might say that Christ's presence in the Eucharist is a personal presence that is focused in the bread and wine but is not localized to the bread and wine:

"On any natural reading of the words 'This is my body' or 'This is my blood', the demonstrative pronoun must be taken as referring to the bread and wine. We must not, however, wrench the focus out of its context. The bread and wine are not to be taken out of the human, personal situation in which they have their being as the body and blood of Christ."¹⁰⁸⁷

Wesley's ministry of Eucharistic hymns reveals the meanings of Eucharist and what communicants can expect. It is really mysterious how the presence of Christ works through the Eucharist. Yet there is the presence of Christ on the Eucharist wherever and whenever the believer has a memory of Jesus.

Therefore, given Wesley's perceptive of the presence of Christ in different aspects of the worship, it is perfectly possible to understand this in the new context of the internet as well. However, this number of questions must be explored below.

Wesley preached the sermon, *'the Means of Grace'* (1746), which seems to have been intended to distinguish Methodist Eucharist from that of others such as Moravians and Catholics.¹⁰⁸⁸ In 1745, in Sect. IV, *HLS*, Wesley used the term to describe the significance of the Eucharist.¹⁰⁸⁹ The term has pastoral and theological features which illuminate Christian

together should then lead the assembly to a response to the word in intercessions for the need of the world and for the unity of the church, confession of the faith, and song." Also see BEM, pp.15-16.

¹⁰⁸⁷ John Macquarrie, "A Guide to the Sacraments", Chapters 12, *Continuum* (New York. 1998), p.127.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Sermon. 16. Preached in 1746.

¹⁰⁸⁹ *HLS*, pp. 12-16.

cultures in ministry and in life. In his teaching on the value of the Eucharist Wesley felt the need to distinguish Methodist practice from that of the Moravians who undervalued it. Wesley described the need for holiness through the prospective of the Means of Grace (Instituted and Prudential). For Wesley Jesus is God's premier means of grace as eternal saviour for human beings.¹⁰⁹⁰ Wesley also believed that Jesus used the "means of grace", which were "works of piety"(gifts for spiritual disciplines) and "works of mercy" (doing good to others) as well as leaving the means of grace (Instituted). Wesley defined means of grace(as Christian Culture) as: "...outward signs, words, or actions, ordained of God, and appointed for this end, to be the ordinary channels whereby he might convey to men, preventing, justifying, or sanctifying grace."¹⁰⁹¹ Wesley suggested that Christian cultures can be analyzed in two respects: "Instituted" by Jesus and "Prudential" by circumstances, fulfilling the same purpose of the instituted means of grace.

1. Ordinances as Instituted means of Grace

In the sermon, the means of Grace, Wesley allowed at least three Ordinances, instituted means as ordinary channels of grace to carry the grace of God to person: Prayer, Scripture, and the Eucharist. They connect with Christian faith and life in Wesley's concept of the church. I will deal with two means here except for the Eucharist which was dealt above in 2, Chapter 3, Part II.

2.1. Prayer

Wesley identified four basic elements of prayer in the communion service: petition, confession, intercession and thanksgiving.¹⁰⁹² Wesley's central theme was always heartfelt

¹⁰⁹⁰ As "Christ is the only means of grace". In Sermon, 16.

¹⁰⁹¹ Sermon, 16.

¹⁰⁹² Borgen, "John Wesley: Sacramental Theology, No Ends Without the Means," p.171.

prayer. Without this all words of prayer are bare hypocrisy.¹⁰⁹³ Wesley considered many forms of prayer - extemporary or written. In advocating extemporary prayer, Wesley said: "Consider both your outward and inward state and vary your prayer accordingly."¹⁰⁹⁴ He believed that this form was "a more excellent way" of prayer than dull repetition of a standard form.¹⁰⁹⁵ However, to help the prayer life of Methodists Wesley also cherished written prayers and kept a personal diary of other people's prayers.¹⁰⁹⁶ The major source of Wesley's written prayers was his Anglican heritage, mainly *BCP* which "was only just less inspired than the Bible."¹⁰⁹⁷ In 1733, Wesley published a series of written prayers for the morning and evening of each day of the week, with questions for meditation and themes for each day. He also wrote morning and evening prayers for families to use each week and also prayers for children.¹⁰⁹⁸ However, *BCP* was not above revision, which Wesley did for American Methodists out of ecclesiastical and liturgical necessity.¹⁰⁹⁹ The power behind these written prayers was that Wesley expected them not only to be read, but also to be prayed wholeheartedly. Each written prayer would be read until their meaning was a part of the person. The Eucharist must be undertaken with the heartfelt prayer to experience the presence of Jesus in it.

2.2. Scripture

It is well-known that Wesley read extensively in various fields and published approximately six hundred works on various themes.¹¹⁰⁰ Wesley wanted himself to be called as the "man of one book." His best book was the Scripture for the individual and his ministries.

¹⁰⁹³ Wesley, vol 5, p.330.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Wesley, vol 7, p.30.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Wesley, vol 7, p.30.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Steve Harper, *John Wesley's Message for Today* (HarperCollins Canada, Limited, 1983), p.75, note 11.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Frank Baker, *John Wesley and the Church of England* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970), p.234.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Wesley, vol. 11, pp.201-259.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Baker, pp.242-249.

¹¹⁰⁰ Harper, 1983, p.28.

I want to know one thing- the way to heaven... O give me that book! At any price, give me that book of God! I have it: Here is knowledge enough for me. Let me be "*homo unius libri*" [A man of one book]. I sit down alone: Only God is here. In his presence I open, I read his book; for this end, to find the way to heaven.¹¹⁰¹

Wesley believed that scripture speaks to life, in its reading and proclamation, at deeply human levels. Wesley knew the importance of hermeneutical processes. He was deeply concerned that the meaning of each text should be accessible. When confronted with difficult passages, Wesley would first turn to divine guidance, and then would compare the text with similar parallel passages. He meditated upon the text and consulted other commentaries by "those who are experienced in the things of God."¹¹⁰² Thus, he acknowledged that he needed other commentators as he worked the explanatory notes on the scripture. His translation and accompanying notes were not only intended to create an academically precise text, but to be understandable in practical life.¹¹⁰³ For Wesley, it is clear that the most significant authority supporting the Eucharist was the scripture.

2. The Prudential Means of Grace

Wesley employed his own conviction of prudential means of grace in his ministry as well as Instituted. The prudential means of grace emerge as a feature of Wesley's Methodism. This is as to how those means should be used, both the order and the manner of using them¹¹⁰⁴ While the instituted means of Grace belong to the universal church in all generations the prudential means of grace are sensitive to particular cultural factors. Prudential can be

¹¹⁰¹ Wesley, vol 5, p.3.

¹¹⁰² Wesley, vol 5, pp.3-4.

¹¹⁰³ *ENNT*, preface, n.p.

¹¹⁰⁴ Sermon 16.

created to reflect God's ability, in addition, to those instituted. In Wesley's early writings,¹¹⁰⁵ the "Prudential" was designed to meet the person at the point of need. Such means could vary "according to the person's needs and the circumstances, thus showing Wesley's simple concern for man's particular historical situation."¹¹⁰⁶ It means Christian social praxis.¹¹⁰⁷ Simply, the instituted means of grace (the prayer, the scripture, and the Eucharist) should be a practical means designed by the leader to reflect an individual's cultural context.

Wesley was aware that the prudential means of grace could help to accomplish Christian perfection. Thus Wesley learned from other Christian ministers, his own generations and contemporary and traditional resources. For instance, for the prayer, the written prayer book of *BCP* and the idea of extempore prayer for individuals during Eucharist were influenced by studying of the early fathers, in particular, the extempore prayer from Justin Martyr's *First Apology* (chapter LXVII). At the time it was not familiar in church worship.

For Wesley the prudential means of grace enable amore effective accomplishment of the essential Ordinances. So it is very practical and pastoral. As they relate to the Eucharist the prudential means of grace can be listed - (1) Requirements for the Eucharist (Particular rules, Prayer meetings, Confession and encouragement of each other) (2) Transformed Eucharist (Covenant services, Watch night services, Love Feasts, Open air communion, Children and communion) (3) Kneeling to receive the consecrated elements (4) Appointing lay leaders (5) Doing all the good one can and doing no harm (Visiting the sick, the imprisoned and the poor) (6) Reading devotional classics and all edifying literature. (7) Joining Conference.¹¹⁰⁸

¹¹⁰⁵ In 1734, he published a book "Christian Prudence". It extracted from Mr. Norris.

¹¹⁰⁶ Borgen, "John Wesley: Sacramental Theology, No Ends without the Means," p.105.

¹¹⁰⁷ Harper, p.64.

¹¹⁰⁸ It can be said that the concept of Conference for Wesley was used for an administrative purpose in Methodists. Namely, it can be described that the Church is the body of universal Christian community. On the other hand, the Conference means that the church have levels of structures to achieve the functions of the Church regarding its practical purpose. Thus it can be understood that Conference is used to include all of Christian faith in the different levels of Christian societies. For Wesley Conference was not merely a loose association of individuals, but an intensive, accountable, organic community; selected people who have special duties. The religious life and community were also inseparable for Wesley. The literal meaning of "conference" is an intensive meaning of the word "together" (James D. Nelson, "Christian Conference" in *Wesleyan Spirituality in Contemporary*

3. Bridge Questions: More essential Ordinances and how?

Three questions are raised in relation to the means of grace.

3.1 Can there be more Ordinances?

Wesley asked 'are there any means of grace?' in the sermon, *the Means of Grace*.¹¹⁰⁹

Wesley suggested three instituted means of grace as good examples although there would be more. There were more examples of the Instituted means of grace in Wesley's ministry: Baptism (Wesley saw this as a instituted sacrament), the Preaching service (evangelical way with open air preaching, and evening service, preaching tour, and appointing lay preachers), Fasting,¹¹¹⁰ Works of mercy,¹¹¹¹ and Conference.

Theological Education, ed. Hal Knight (Nashville: Division of Ordained Ministry of the United Methodist Church, 1987), p.48). Wesley would use the term to describe groups of people, particularly the leaders of lay preachers from different Methodist circuits or societies (Wesley, vol. 13, p.248.). Drakeford describes five levels of groups regarding Wesley's conference:

- 1) Associational (the Society): primarily for fellowship and encouragement, including non-believers;
- 2) Behavioural (the Class): primarily for examining the behaviour of Christians and providing encouragement and correction;
- 3) Motivational (the Band): extended examination beyond behaviour to the very intent of the Christian;
- 4) Aspirational (the Select Society): for the most enthusiastic member, seeking as full a Christian life as possible;
- 5) Reclamation (the Penitent Band): for those who had failed in other groups but were willing to attempt to return. (John W. Drakeford, *People to People Therapy* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1978), 11-20.)

The real intention of Conference was to provide different levels of fellowship and accountability based on the different needs of the individual. The emphases of Wesley's groups in conference were spiritual renewal, mutual accountability, mutual responsibility, and Christian practice in the world (Knight, 1987, pp.139-143; Cf., Henderson, p. 98; Drakeford, p. 17.) Thus, affiliation was determined by the Society members to insure that members would take attendance in creating their own atmosphere seriously and to prevent hostile members.

¹¹⁰⁹ Sermon 16.

¹¹¹⁰ Wesley did not require the fasting as a requirement for the Eucharist. But he admitted the value of it to help spiritual perfection link to the Eucharist. Wesley observed that fasting could occur in multiple forms and for varying lengths of time. He was constantly alert that fasting might be done for the wrong reasons (Wesley, vol5, pp.358-359). Wesley associated fasting with "almsgiving"- works of mercy"(Wesley, vol5, p.360.), and connected fasting with levels of abstinence, the restriction of certain foods, particularly pleasant foods. He advocated limited forms of fasting particularly for those who might have health problems. Even in his later years,

3.2. Can there be more opinions?

In terms of this question, Wesley **carefully** and honestly revealed his view in *the letter to Roman Catholics*.¹¹¹² The letter talks about the concept of the Church. Since then there has been a poor historical story of pastoral matters between Methodist and Catholic. In the letter Wesley asks, 'What does the word 'bitterness' (in section 2) mean?' This question arose from unwearying hardships between the Anglican Church and nonconformist Churches including Catholics.¹¹¹³ The letters of John Locke have often been referred to as a major breakthrough in the theory of toleration between the Anglican and Catholic.¹¹¹⁴

The severity of the relationship is seen in the example of Richard Challoner who led the English Catholics. Methodists and Catholics were competing for converts in parts of London,

Wesley resorted to abstinence more than to his traditional one day fast. Food was always the object of the fast, so some liquids might be taken (Harper, 1983, pp.49-50).

¹¹¹¹ Works of mercy with the right motif as expressions of love for God and neighbor. Those that neglect to share their bounty with the poor, the sick and the imprisoned, do not receive the grace from God. If we do not, Wesley insisted, we lose a means of grace.

¹¹¹² Wesley wrote this letter in Dublin, Ireland, 18 July 1749. This letter was published four times in Wesley's lifetime in 1749, 1750, 1755 and 1773; then in 1968 by Michael Hurley S.J (Geoffrey Chapman/Epworth House) and in 1987 by the organisers of the Catholic/ Methodist Conference in Belfast (Cf., David Butler, in Introduction, *Methodists and Papists*, p.xiv. And Cf. W.J. Townsend, H.B. Workman and George Eayrs, Chapter I 'in Ireland', *Methodism Beyond the Seas*, Vol.2, Book.4, pp.3-9.). Wesley did not receive any response from the Roman Catholic Church during his lifetime.

In recent times, the Roman Catholic Church has, in complete contrast, quoted Wesley's letters official talk and documents. The Second Vatican Council featured with Wesley's '*The letter to a Roman Catholic*' and the Sermon on '*the Catholic Church*' (8 Sept 1749).

Wesley's intention in the letter as practical guidance was reflected in *Decree on Ecumenism*. Both were written by worrying the struggles such as the two deepest incidents: the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 and the Cork riots of 1749. J. M. Turner explains how Wesley influences to Catholics:

' These two writings caused Cardinal Bea, who was the President of the Vatican Secretariat for Christian Unity, to declare: ' Because it expressed so simply and effectively the main features of the ecumenical movement as recommended by church leaders today and, as far as Roman Catholics are concerned, the Second Vatican Council and Pope Paul VI, John Wesley's '*letter to a Roman Catholic*' cannot but be a welcome source of inspiration and encouragement to all, both the ecumenically committed and the ecumenically indifferent' ('Methodism, Roman Catholicism and the Middle Ages: A Contextual Approach' (47-70) in *One in Christ* (Vol 38, no.4, 2003, p.50-51.)

Cardinal Bea sees that the letters are as an anticipation both of the ecumenism of the second Vatican Council and of the 'Lund principle' in writing a commendatory preface to a Catholic edition of the letter (John Newton, 'The Ecumenical Wesley', *one in Christ*, p.161). Cf., David Butler, *Methodists and Papists* (Darton, longman and Todd, 1995) pp.211-216.

¹¹¹³ Cf. John M. Todd, *John Wesley and the Catholic Church* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1958).

¹¹¹⁴ John Locke, 'Letter Concerning Toleration' in *the Works of John Locke*, Vol.VI, (London, 1801). David Butler, *Methodists and Papists*, p.50. See more 'Eighteen-Century background' in John Munday Turner, *Conflict and Reconciliation*, pp.1-8.

by using similar methods and a common desperate concern for the poor. Both itinerant preachers and priests were used.¹¹¹⁵ Challoner (1691-1781) censured Methodists.¹¹¹⁶ Second, there was a direct motivation just before this letter written - the awful Cork Riots in Ireland.¹¹¹⁷ This influenced the nature of Wesley's letter concerning Catholics.¹¹¹⁸ Accordingly, Wesley's letter was intended to prevent worse struggles between the Methodist movement and the Catholic Church in Ireland.¹¹¹⁹ Also in the long term the letter was intended to lead to a more loving focus in mission. David Butler notes that the term 'Methodist' was not in the letter. Butler's suggestion is 'possibly because Wesley wanted to ally his movement with all good Protestants against the ultra-Protestantism of Nicholas Butler.'¹¹²⁰ Structuring the letter in 17 paragraphs Wesley¹¹²¹ believed that the

¹¹¹⁵ J.M. Turner, 'Methodism, Roman Catholicism and the Middle Ages: A contextual Approach', p. 52.

¹¹¹⁶ In a writing, *Caveat Against the Methodist*:

Methodists are not the people of God. They are not true Gospel Christians; The Methodist Teachers are not the true Minister of Christ nor are they called or sent by him. The Methodist Rule of faith is not the Rule of true Christianity. ... and their eternal salvation is no true Christian Faith but a mere illusion and groundless presumption'. (Butler, *Methodists and papists*, pp. 70)

¹¹¹⁷ In 1749, Wesley had third visit to Ireland, arriving at Dunleavy on 15, April left 22 July. See *Journal* 3, pp. 395-422. The riot ended a year later. Until April 1750, there were further accounts of Methodists still suffering from mob violence. (J.M. Turner, *Ibid.*, p.464). And in May 1750 when Wesley revisited in Cork, the mayor tried to stop him to preach. But he did (*Journal* III, p.471).

¹¹¹⁸ Butler quoted that,

'Albert Outler prefers to think of a friendly Irish Roman Catholic, while Michael Hurley sees an open letter to all Catholics in the wake of the Cork Riots. The problem with Hurley's theory is that it implies Catholic participation in anti-Methodist riots at a time when Catholics had no legal rights in Ireland and therefore could have reaped no benefits from participation in the riots. However, since Wesley does mention Catholic mobs elsewhere, perhaps Catholics were at least a part of the Cork mobs.' (*Methodists and Papists*, p.44)

¹¹¹⁹ For a more Cf. A. M. Lyles, *Methodism mocked: the satiric reaction to Methodism in the eighteenth century*, 1960.

¹¹²⁰ Butler, 1995, p.44. Nicholas Butler was the leader of the mob. Cf. the whole story of Cork Riots in *Journal* 3 (pp.409-414, 20/7/1749).

¹¹²¹ Paragraph 1-4 appeals that both sides, Protestants and Catholics, must remove something of the root of bitterness in the principle of love with permitting different opinions. Then, how to love by accepting the same Faith in each other. In paragraph 5-10, Wesley revealed that the true Protestant is as same as the Roman Catholic in the contents of Christian doctrines: the Trinity, the Church, forgiveness of sin, and life after death. Wesley believed and hoped that members of the Church have fellowship within these basic aspects: with the Holy Trinity, with the holy angels, with all the living members of Christ on earth, and with faith and fear. In 11, carefully, Wesley accepted that Catholics might have more aspects of belief than he meant. So Wesley in 12 requested Catholics whether anything more is needed for salvation. Concurrently Wesley revealed about not called Christians, like Sabbath breakers, drunkards, all whoremongers, liars, cheats, extortioners. In 13, 14, Wesley highlighted that a Protestant loves God and his neighbour, everyone. In this it seems that Wesley stressed the Christian love in practice. Paragraph 15 is about a Catholic conscience. Then Wesley

Church has two aspects of Love/essentials and opinions.¹¹²² Wesley's letter comprises of two things: love (core essentials) and Opinions (Orders). Wesley's focus is the importance of description of love/essentials, to be one Church.

3.2.1. Essentials

Chapman notes that Wesley believed that 'an essential Christian doctrine is one that is vital to salvation.'¹¹²³ Wesley's essentials concern the 'undoubted, fundamental branches of our common Christianity.'¹¹²⁴ Wesley called it orthodox doctrine or 'right opinions'.¹¹²⁵ However, he distinguished between 'right opinions' and 'true religion'. His essentials are the fundamental Christian Creeds and an authentic faith that expresses the conviction of personal reconciliation to God through Jesus Christ.¹¹²⁶ Wesley recognized the problem through Church history not only between Catholic and Protestant, but also among Protestants regarding how to persecute 'even when they agree in essentials, and only differ in opinions, or in the circumstantial of religion.'¹¹²⁷

This awareness was expressed in the sermon, "*Catholic Spirit*" which was also based (1) on the principle of the obligation which the royal law of love puts upon Christian to love all mankind, and is not limited to one's neighbour, relations, acquaintances and friends; and (2) on the further fact that "there is a peculiar love we owe to those who love God. ... All men approve of this; but do all men practice it? Daily experience shows the contrary."¹¹²⁸ Wesley acknowledged that a difference of opinion, models of worship and Churches may "prevent

appealed that 'we ought also to love one other' (16) and has four suggestions as to the aim and how to love each other (17).

¹¹²² Cf. Allan Coppedge, 'John Wesley and the issue of Authority in theological pluralism' (62-76) in *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, Vol.19, No2, (Wilmore: the Wesleyan Theological Society Asbury Theological Seminary), Fall 1984.

¹¹²³ David Chapman, John Wesley on Christian 'Essentials' and 'Opinions' (72-81) in *One in Christ*. Vol.37, no.3, July 2003, p.74.

¹¹²⁴ Sermon 4, 'Spiritual Christianity' (159-180).

¹¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹¹²⁶ See John Wesley, 'A letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Gloucester', in *Works of John Wesley* 11 (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, n.d.), p.532.

¹¹²⁷ Sermon 22, 'Lord's Sermon on the Mount, Second' (488-509), in *Works of John Wesley*, p. 508.

¹¹²⁸ *Works of the Rev. John Wesley* (Grand Rapid: Zondervan Publishing House) V, 1-6, p. 493.

an entire external union".¹¹²⁹

Wesley did not form these essentials alone.¹¹³⁰ Within them Wesley implies the basic things with a consideration of the Catholic Church. This intention of mentioning the essential aspects of the same faith of Love can be seen in terms of doctrinal essentials such as: The Trinity, original sin, Soteriology, Eschatology, etc. though there would be different opinions or theological views if it deepens.

3.2.2. Opinions

Wesley's asserted that 'opinions' should be distinguished from the core of Christian essentials. It is praxis such as patterns of worship, ministry and church order.¹¹³¹ Butler notes that 'Opinions' in different churches were to be distinguished from essential doctrines.¹¹³² Wesley laid bare the fact that his frustration was that 'opinions' should divide friends,¹¹³³ into groups as Christian denominations that have their own options. Also, he recognized the risk of opinions:

¹¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹¹³⁰ See Butler, 1995, pp.50-51

'His understanding of the catholic spirit is far from 'speculative latitudinariaism' and is closer to that Anglican tradition which attempted to distinguish between things essential to the faith (and these Wesley lists in his sermon as he does in his letter of 1749) and things not essential to the faith, the things indifferent or *adiaphora* discussed first by Melanchthon in Germany and then in England by Hooker.'

¹¹³¹ A.C.Outler, ed., *John Wesley* (A Library of Protestant Thought, 1964), pp.99ff.
He also thinks that responsibility of position are in opinions

'On the road I read over *Lord King's Account of the Primitive Church*. In spite of the vehement prejudice of my education, I was ready to believe that this was a fair and impartial draught; but if so, it would follow that bishops and presbyters are (essentially) of one order, and that originally every Christian congregation was a church independent of all others.'(Journal, 20/1/1746)

¹¹³² Butler, 1995, pp.50-51.

¹¹³³ Journal, 3 /4/1746.

'What can destroy the work of God... but zeal for, and contending about opinions?'¹¹³⁴

Wesley believed that there are right opinions and wrong, which lead to either toleration or bitterness.¹¹³⁵ Wesley showed where and how opinions should be used:

'opinions indicate a privately held intuition. is used in a technical sense to indicate a considered judgement that rationally coherent, as in medical opinion and counsel's opinion.'¹¹³⁶

Butler comments on Wesley's opinions:

'Wesley's considered view of the matter was that 'things indifferent' in the faith were those 'opinions' held by so many different groups within the Christian Church. He quoted a letter to him from James Erskine, written around 1744/5, in the Journal for 1745 where this extract is to be found: 'is it not the duty of both ministers and private Christians, in their several stations, to show that our particular opinions are not so important but that one in whom the grand characteristic is found may hold different, nay, contrary opinions.'¹¹³⁷

Therefore, Wesley confirmed that each church on the earth has her own opinion. Options of prudential means of grace should be respected by agreement of essentials which all churches believe with their own opinions. Although Wesley did not mention detailed worship as essential, the letter revealed that what the church believes can vary. In this logic, I believe that Wesley confirmed the Eucharist which contains Christian essentials and options in theology and in practice. It means Wesley's understanding of Opinion is open not only the

¹¹³⁴ Journal, 28 /4/ 1748.

¹¹³⁵ Sermon 39. This Sermon written in the same year, in Sep, 1749.

¹¹³⁶ David Chapman, 'John Wesley on Christian 'Essentials' and 'Opinions', *One in Christ* (Vol. 37, no.2, 2002), p.75. Cf., John Newton, 1972, pp.165-170; Wesley refers to 'doubtful opinions' in Sermon, 'Scriptural Christianity' in *Works of John Wesley*, Abingdon edition, various editors (Nashville 1984) (1), p.175.

¹¹³⁷ David Butler, 1995, pp. 50-51. Cf Journal, 29/5/1745.

different churches but also different generations even in Methodism.

3.3. Is it possible to be new prudential today?

Through the sermons, *means of grace* and *the letter to Roman Catholic*, it can be said that Wesley had three areas of Christian understanding in mind - the Eucharist: essentials (of the faith), instituted means of grace (visible essentials) and prudential means of grace (opinions, pastoral methods).

For Wesley the essentials of faithful Christian life cannot and must not be changed. When he explained the essentials his intention was to form a basic ecumenical confession. However, his personal conviction of unchangeable essential seems merely to have focused on evangelical concerns. John Newton points out that Wesley's essentials cannot be judged because 'what for Wesley is both a personal credo and a declaration of common Christian belief.' Newton furthermore said that this is due to the fact that 'John Wesley's theology blends personal experience with catholic truth in the same way.'¹¹³⁸ Hence, we can infer that Wesley's essentials are subjective not objective although Wesley might avoid unnecessary controversies and hardship between Methodists, other Protestants, and the Catholic Church.

Unfortunately, although Wesley did not mention the details of how practical opinions link to essentials in the letter (such as Sacraments between the Methodists and the Catholics) he could have mentioned the needs of visible aspects as either visible essential or opinions in relation, for example, to the two sacraments: the communion and baptism.¹¹³⁹ When Wesley

¹¹³⁸ John Newton, 1972, pp. 164-165

¹¹³⁹ However, there were already at least other five sacraments in the Catholic Church since the middle ages. In the middle Ages conservative Catholicism connected sacramental theology to Christology, stressing Christ's institution of the sacraments and the power of the sacraments to infuse the grace of Christ, earned on Calvary, to the recipient. The newer emphasis connects the sacraments to ecclesiology. It reflects that we do not encounter Christ directly, but in the church which mediates the presence and action of Christ. The number of sacraments was finally fixed at seven

mentioned the essentials he could have given his opinions about whether visible essentials contain the invisible essential/the love of God. I can suppose that Wesley might hesitate to give specific examples in order not to hinder dialogue. In fact, while Wesley lived, the Catholic standpoint regarding the seven sacraments,¹¹⁴⁰ and the Papal government¹¹⁴¹ as a hierarchy of truths, was stern.

Sum up, it can be suggested that Wesley might deal with the visible essentials/instituted means of grace according to the contemporary state of affairs. Although Wesley believed that the instituted means of grace are visible essentials that contain the invisible essentials of the faith he seems to have been quiet about the detailed specifics of these essentials because people have different opinions about what compromises the sacraments.

Therefore, Wesley has contributed the guidance of how difficult it makes the boundaries between visible and invisible to physical humans for a foundation of ecumenical dialogue. The use of the terms: 'essentials' and 'opinions' foster greater inclusivity amongst Christians. And we may expect to see different opinions of Church missions, to share ecumenical works, and to help each other. Fortunately, the further advanced fact between Methodist and Catholic today is that both churches agree with the essentials of the faith and at least two visible essentials of sacraments as Christian faithful culture: Eucharist and Baptism seen in the process of *BEM*.

during the medieval period (at the councils of Lyons 1274, Florence 1439, and Trent 1545 - 63). However, in fact, the catholic has innumerable sacramental: e.g., baptismal water, holy oil, blessed ashes, candles, palms, crucifixes, and statues. Sacramentals are said to cause grace not *ex opere operanto* like the sacraments, but *ex opere operantis*, through the faith and devotion of those using them. The Catholic Sacraments can be largely divided into four kinds.

1. Three of the sacraments, baptism, confirmation, Eucharist, are concerned with Christian initiation
2. Penance and anointing the sick are concerned with healing
3. There are two sacraments of vocation and commitment: marriage and orders
4. The ordained priesthood has three orders: bishops, priests, and deacons.

(Cf., Monica Hellwig, *The Meaning of the Sacraments*, Dayton: Pflaum Standard, 1972).

¹¹⁴⁰ Wesley also thought Sacrament links to the Church in separately. Wesley pointed out the goal of weekly Communion. See *Works*, 8:274

¹¹⁴¹ It was believed that the Papacy caused people in the catholic for salvation. This had badly caused Luther who resisted the notion that the authority of the Papacy (1517) could forgive a person for sin by buying an indulgence (since Leo III about 800).

Chapter 3. Practical Issues

Any kind of worship should be primarily a God-focused activity. During worship the believers intend to experience of God even through the Internet Eucharist - its words, actions, symbols, and use of the senses of intention of the Holy Spirit. Christian truth claims are conveyed to our whole being - body, mind, and spirit even in the cyberspace. This idea presents a really new challenge in a cyberspace generation.

The use of the virtual world for mission is becoming a major project today.

"we considered it an ideal setting to unveil our online church project," says Steve

Goddard, co-editor of *Ship of Fools*. "It picks up the challenge of Archbishop Rowan Williams' Mission-shaped Church initiative -- to create new expressions for Generation X-Box."¹¹⁴²

Recently the Church of England and the Methodist Church in Great Britain have established a website introducing a movement called 'Fresh Expressions'¹¹⁴³, which involves new forms of church that reflect contemporary culture and cultural change. The website has reflects the challenge of developing mission in a changing world. The Church of England's report, *Mission Shaped Church*, reflects the same recognition. In particular, 'the western countries are with such 'network society' culture. That is a fundamental change.'¹¹⁴⁴ 'Globalization implies a networked world. The Internet is both an example of network society and a metaphor for understanding it. The Internet has no centre. There is no one place where choices are controlled. Everywhere is linked to everywhere else. Networks of relationship are formed in chat rooms around mutual interests.'¹¹⁴⁵ In encouraging new patterns of worship, this report has in addition given a great deal of thought to the fact that 'if church planters are trained in the overall structures and patterns of Christian worship, then they should be trusted with the freedom, together with their congregations, to develop culturally appropriate liturgy from below. This approach will help to discourage the cloning of patterns of liturgy and of church in new areas of mission.'¹¹⁴⁶ On the Internet, the pattern of the Eucharist also has to have freedom. It can be suggested that the Internet church has the capacity to reflect three essentials of the Eucharist in the community of the church as Bernier stresses:

¹¹⁴² *BBC News Online, April 13, 2004.*

¹¹⁴³ The Church of England and the Methodist Church together have worked to seek new different fresh expression of church life to bring to every part of our society since September 2004. The aim of Fresh Expression is to support the movement of mission and change across the churches in every diocese and district by 2010. There is a long-term project that is in *fresh expressions* made by Steven Crofy on 6 January 2005, or see www.freshexpressions.org.uk.

¹¹⁴⁴ *Mission-shaped church* (London: Church House Publishing, 2004), p. 4.

¹¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹¹⁴⁶ *Mission-shaped church*, p. 117.

“1) The Eucharist is about people. That is ... consecrated to become the Body and Blood of Christ. It is about Christ’s family that gathers together to share that Bread and Wine in memory of Him. 2) The Eucharist is alive, not fixed. It is an action, not some static thing. It is what we do as branches on Jesus’ vine, ... 3) The most important thing is that we gather together as members of Christ’s Body to share the Eucharist. For he is present in the community that is here. It is as “Where two or three are gathered in my name, I am present among them” (Mt 18:20). Christian communities give the world visible proof that Jesus really gives us life, that we are alive within him.”¹¹⁴⁷

Some might question how these functions can operate within the cyberspace Eucharist. This concern requires a new conception not only of cyberspace community but also of cyberspace Eucharistic communities. We can speak of a “cyberspace Eucharistic church”. Although it is not in natural space it can be seen as a kind of Christian churches that connects people one-one on the cyberspace in the name of Jesus. Recently a remarkable discovery about Internet communities is that their members soon express a desire to meet in natural space and time. *Ship of Fools* has its meetings of shipmates.¹¹⁴⁸ Therefore, I suppose there will be certain changes of various forms of Christian communities in the future by the Internet. This can enable cyber communicants to meet whenever they want and wherever they are as individuals or groups. Thus the Internet Eucharistic Church can become a new model of church in terms of the advanced technology towards globalisation.¹¹⁴⁹

¹¹⁴⁷ Paul J. Bernier, SSS, “A Eucharist Builds the Community of the Church”, *Emmanuel Magazine*, September 2002.

¹¹⁴⁸ Cf., the website at www.ship-of-fools.com.

¹¹⁴⁹ Avery Dulles, *Models of the Church* (Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing Group Inc, (2nd Revised edition January 2000). Dulles researched Six Models of Church in the history since the era of New Testament. He accounts a schematic formation of a system, theory, or phenomenon that describes for its known or inferred properties and may be used for further study of its characteristics.

1) Church as Institution Hierarchical constitution of the Church Relative clarity and simplicity. It does not enjoy extensive New Testament support.

2) Church as Communion Invisible reality of the life of the Church—family Firm New Testament base. Neglect the visible aspects of Church—amorphous “good fellowship.”

3) Church as Sacrament The visible sign of God’s loving presence in the world. It shows both the invisible and the visible reality of Church. It presupposes a certain theological sophistication.

1. Who needs it?

Human beings develop socially and individually. William Doty has enumerated twelve different ways that rituals serve society such as wedding and funeral liturgies. According to Doty, rituals allow dramatic re-enactments that would otherwise be difficult to express in a discursive verbal manner. Rituals may “provide transitions between statuses, events, periods, and types of activities.”¹¹⁵⁰ Likewise the Internet church can be visited anywhere and anytime as anyone who wants to visit the Eucharistic table. In particular, it is an outstanding tool for some who are far from churches and ministers in deep villages, residential homes, prison and at work. The Internet Eucharist could have popular application for those who are not able to go to Church, such as travelers, prisoners, patients, the elderly, special workers and some who left the true churches because of relationship discord. In such cases, Eucharistic variety depends on the intention of attendants on the Internet. Forming of internet Eucharistic community/church may be the intention/interest may be attracted the language, local, generation, denominations, theology, special person or event, or what happens in the website.

2. Who can lead the internet Eucharist?

Wesley held the view that only the ordained minister could lead the Eucharistic. His view

4) Church as Herald (Messenger) Proclamation and preaching of the Gospel Protestant communities have long given central importance to this model of Church. It emphasis on word does not match emphasis on sacrament.

5) Church as Servant Devotion for social justice which is at the heart of the Church's mission. It stresses the active participation of lay people. Exclusive use can compromise what is distinctive to the Church of Christ.

6) Church as Community of Disciples Follow completely in the footprints of Jesus. People whose lifestyle stands in contrast with the rest of society. Jesus did not say that his disciples would have an easy life.

¹¹⁵⁰ William C. Doty, *Mythography: The Study of Myths and Rituals* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989), pp.104-106.

was shaped by his understanding of scripture, church tradition, and his contemporary situation. If today's Methodists continue to adopt this view then the planting and administration of the internet Eucharistic church would be best carried out by ordained ministers. If an un-ordained person who belongs to a denomination wants to plant the internet church, he/she may need a process of permission from the church headquarters. This would be intended to protect the legitimate functions of the internet, the activities of the Internet Churches, the Eucharistic education, and implementing communion.

Recent experience offers a good example of this. Before *BEM*, Vatican II's Constitution on the Liturgy (SC) demonstrated the need for liturgical reform. One such change related to the understanding of the meaning of Sunday Observance and Sunday liturgy in the absence of a Priest. SC35 says that: "Bible services should be encouraged, especially ... on Sundays and holy days. They are particularly to be recommended in places where no priest is available". Later, in 1973, *the Instruction Immensae Caritatis* allowed laypersons to give communion as special ministers;¹¹⁵¹ the permission was readily applied to the Sunday liturgy in the absence of a priest. Thus the practice developed into a full liturgical celebration of the word and Holy Communion.¹¹⁵²

On the other hand, the interesting thing in *BEM* is that a layperson can baptise¹¹⁵³, but not preside at the Eucharist.¹¹⁵⁴ The question arises about the difference between baptism and Eucharist even though both are sacraments rooted in the New Testament. Regarding this question, Barth illustrated why only ordained ministers can preside at the Eucharist:

¹¹⁵¹ *Instruction "Inter Oecumenici,"* No.37; *DOL*, pp.650-652. Quoted in AnscarJ. Churpungco, O.S.B, *Liturgies of the Future* (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1989), p. 193.

¹¹⁵² R. Kaczynski: "Sonntaeliche Kommunifeier," *Der Sonntag*, pp.212-24. Quoted in AnscarJ. Churpungco, O.S.B, *Liturgies of the Future* (Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1989), p. 193.

¹¹⁵³ *BEM*, p.6. "Baptism is normally administered by an ordained minister, though in certain circumstance others are allowed to baptize."(B.22)

¹¹⁵⁴ *BEM*, p. 16. "In the celebration of the Eucharist, In most churches, this presidency is signified by ordained ministers. ... " (E.29). Above all, more the Orthodox perspectives on the Eucharist has influenced than other church's traditions. See Petros Vassiliadies, *Eucharist and Witness* (Geneva, WCC Publication Holy Cross Orthodox Press Brookline Massachusetta, 1998)

"While the overall category "ministry" might allow one to consider the presider of the Eucharist to be a "servant," other terms point in a direction which does not exclude power, domination, and a claim to monopoly. Jesus spoke very clearly against such claims in Matt. 20:25-26."¹¹⁵⁵

He also criticised the view of Eucharist put forward in *BEM* that only ordained ministers can preside. He reviews the New Testament to testify.

"Baptism, Eucharist, and ministry are never found combined as a triple star. While in *BEM* (Min. 11 - 12, 14, 17), ordained ministers are interpolated as intermediaries and power-channels between Jesus Christ and the congregation, this is not the case in the New Testament accounts of Jesus' Last Supper, in Paul's discussion of the Supper in I Cor. 10-11, or in John 6 and 13. Indispensable for the celebration of the Lord's Supper are in each case Jesus Christ alone and his flock, rather than ritually ordained clergy. He alone, and not a specific church hierarchy, is to be praised and glorified during this meal."¹¹⁵⁶

One definition of ordination is "A liturgical action of the church by which some of its members are designated, commissioned and consecrated to public pastoral ministry."¹¹⁵⁷ The word 'ordination' itself refers to the public organization of church and of the Christian community. Thus, the proper person for the Eucharist is agreed not only by the Methodist tradition but also by the community of ecumenical churches. Leaders in the early Church were ordained as we can see from the New Testament.¹¹⁵⁸ This tradition is still alive. And that the laying on of hands with prayer seems to have been important till today. However, a theology of ordination is certainly difficult to pin down in Methodism after Wesley's death because of the statement, "Plan of Pacification", which permitted the possibility of the laity who may

¹¹⁵⁵ Markus Barth, "BEM: Questions and Considerations"(490-498), in *Theology Today*, Vol. 42, no. 4 January 1986, p.493.

¹¹⁵⁶ Ibid., pp.493 –94.

¹¹⁵⁷ 'A New Dictionary of Christian Theology', (London: SCM, 1983), p.418.

¹¹⁵⁸ Cf. Acts 6:1-6, 13:1-3, 20:28, and 1 Timothy 4:14 and 5:22, 2 Timothy 1:6.

administrate the Eucharist in a certain condition. If the statement is still valuable it may become a particular issue within Methodism. In this context it should be asked what conditions are required in order for lay preachers to be allowed to preside at the Eucharist and on whose authority such decisions are to be made.

3. Communicants

When considering the internet Eucharist it is important to recall Wesley's term, 'converting ordinance' and the suggestion that anyone with a faithful mind can take part in the Eucharist. Lawson commented that 'the modern Methodist usage of a communion open to all who sincerely desire to take it is in accord with the spirit of Wesley's rule'.¹¹⁵⁹ With this Wesleyan concept, there is no limitation of ones to participate in an Internet Eucharist. However, on the internet Eucharist, the administrator can request communicants to take a period of faithful training and assess them through keyboard chatting, phone or video telephony before communion and for it.

4. When should the Eucharist be celebrated?

The *BEM* argues for frequent Eucharistic celebrations. However, there is some limitation of time and place in the nature of churches. On the one hand, ordinary churches can have the Eucharist at every Sunday service. The minister may arrange a special time for the Eucharistic ministry in terms of ministerial situations or necessities such as providing pastoral care, healing, comfort, prayer, love feast, congregations, thanksgivings, birthday, and so on. However, the Internet churches can celebrate the Eucharist whenever people want. The Minister can advertise a time of the Eucharist service and his email address on the Internet for those who can send a minister an email to takepart in the Eucharist.

¹¹⁵⁹ AB Lawson, *John Wesley and the Christian Ministry* (London: SPCK, 1994), p.108.

5. Actual executions

5.1. Creating Eucharistic atmosphere

Baldovin developed a typology of “Core, Code, and Culture” as a tool for evaluating liturgical adaption.¹¹⁶⁰ Before having the Internet Eucharist there will be an opportunity for the minister to introduce or teach about the meaning of the Eucharist, and ask for a confession of Christian faith on the Internet. Some churches may relay a live Eucharistic service in a church. Others may create the virtual space of the church building by making 3-D images (as Ship of Fools). When people go to church on Sunday they may be affected by sight, sound, feeling, smell, or taste. Hence the internet Eucharist has to consider these senses. In particular, the function of physical feeling, smell and taste has limitations. Although Internet churches only allow for the use of words, sound and pictures, Internet technology may make use of words, sound, music, pictures and symbols in the way that candles, icons, and the like have also been used traditionally in some churches to aid devotion. Web providers can create skillful pictures with good sound, terrific words, and living pictures which connect with people in various situations. Some people are in their room; some are in a communal place such as a care home. People in a residential home can gather in a spacious lounge, and choose an internet church on Sunday. They may attend the Eucharistic service with prepared Eucharistic elements in a space like lounge.

5.2. The prayers

The Internet Eucharist is more effective when microphones and web-cameras are used. Minister and recipient can see and express their feelings in actions, words and music or by

¹¹⁶⁰ John F. Baldovin, “The Changing World of Liturgy: The Future of Anglican Worship” in *Anglican Theological Review* 82 (2000). pp. 65-81.

seeing words from the order on the monitor. To be a valid Eucharist on the Internet, the Internet Eucharistic prayers need to facilitate a comfortable and earnest atmosphere without being disruptive. The prayers or order may have certain different forms of the prayers or order according to liturgical ministry or different denominational backgrounds.¹¹⁶¹ Ward and Wild have published a book, *Human Rites* which provides an example of the prayers or order in terms of liturgical ministry.¹¹⁶² Internet churches would recognise the diversity of the sensibilities of people and their modes of expression of the prayers.

5.3. Eucharistic participation

A book on spirituality, *Patterns not Padlocks*, is useful in offering help for new patterns of the Eucharist.¹¹⁶³ Liturgy is intended to give pattern and shape, allowing depth and breadth, as well as a surprise. Every church service has some structure. Common sense suggests that someone acts as the leader and determines what time the service will start, who will lead it, what music there will be, and who will speak. A key feature of liturgical change on the Internet has been the provision of time and place where web designers and receivers are.

5.3.1. Invitation in real place

This case is already established in an Internet church. For instance, 'the Church of Fools', in time, there are those who seek Eucharist, baptism, or confirmation, they could offer a real, geographical place for celebration of these sacraments. All these things are possible, and none are excluded.¹¹⁶⁴ This model has a merit that those who are in cyberspace can relate to a natural community. Ministers may arrange appointments to see web site visitors who

¹¹⁶¹ Cf., Danna M. Cole, *Liturgical Ministry* (California: Resource Publications, Inc, 1996), and Frank C. Senn, *New Eucharistic Prayers* (New York: Paulist Press, 1975).

¹¹⁶² Hannah Ward and Jennifer Wild, *Human Rites* (London: Mowbray, 1995)

¹¹⁶³ Angela Ashwin, *Patterns not Padlocks* (Eagle, 1994)

¹¹⁶⁴ See the web site at 'Church of Fools' (<http://foolsofchurch.com>)

require them a real time and place.

However, this model has an unsolved shortcoming in that receivers may be far away from the Eucharistic meetings in a real place. In order to overcome this weakness including the next model, visiting homes or the ideal of network churches (as *Fresh Expression.com*) may be useful. The ministers in the network churches share their ministerial information and works.

5.3.2. Visiting homes

This is possible when there was no Internet. When people want to have the Eucharist, they can invite minister to their home through their friends, by telephone, or in a letters explaining their situation. Likewise, when one who wants to have a Eucharist at his/her home while he/she is attending at an Internet church, he/she invites the supporter to visit his/her home by e-mail or voice mail.

5.3.3. Click on the icons of Bread and Wine

A web designer for Eucharistic practice may want to see who or how many people access the web-site. It is possible to create fictitious characters like avatars that can receive of the icons of the bread and wine thereby following the logic of cyberspace. The designer and communicants will still believe in the value of the icons and their intention of attending the Eucharistic atmosphere as a means of grace. It can be expected that the web designer and avatars have a spiritual relationship within the Eucharist which, like relationships in the everyday world can be complex. This model is a completely virtual process. There is not physical meeting. Some people may ask for virtual Bread and Wine on the Internet Eucharist service instead of real elements. They may simply click the icons of Bread and

Wine. It is very interesting that the icons of Bread and Wine would reflect the presence of Jesus through the hands clicking on the computer monitor in faith. Some may want the icons just as signs or symbols to memorialize the religious rites. Although the web designer of internet Eucharist's may be concerned that site visitors want to see, hear, feel, smell and taste. This model cannot avoid its lack of theological background. This may be a risky idea. The Eucharist is real actions Jesus and his disciples did. Therefore, this model may destroy the Eucharistic tradition of real relationship with the presence of Jesus on the Bread and the Wine.

5.3.4. By post

Some participants may be in difficult situation to prepare bread and wine. But a believer watches and follows the order of the Eucharist on the internet while the Eucharist service is being celebrated. When the believer wants to take the Bread and the Wine, he or she may require them by post if possible. On the other hand minister could ask whether the virtual attendants will click the icons that signify whether they have received them by post or not. Although it takes a few days to get to them, it would be suspected that the receiver is in a certain expectation in faith. Yet there could be a problem that the Bread and wine could decay during the days of travel in the post.

5.3.5. Preparation by receivers themselves

The participants in the internet Eucharist could prepare communion elements, bread and wine, in their home or anywhere they are before the Eucharist and have them ready for the worship.

This depends on a receiver's actual intention and ardent yearning for the Bread and the Wine. Eucharistic leaders can talk and lead the receiver and pray for the Bread and the Wine through computer tools. Martyn Lloyd Jones says about this, 'The Spirit generally uses

a man's best preparation. It is not the Spirit or preparation; it is preparation plus the unction and the anointing and that which the Holy Spirit alone can supply.'¹¹⁶⁵ Today, it is a trend that Internet churches recruit this way. For instance, the London internet church (<http://londoninternetchurch.org.uk/>)

Beside 2.5.4.3, the four other ways of Eucharistic participations can provide the functions of Smell and Physical feeling to overcome

2. Tasks left

2.1. How to balance the real love of God and Neighbour

To reach people who are busy and can no longer attend church communion due to distance, time of work, disease or other factors can be difficult. The Internet service can provide one resolution. The attraction of an internet service can be seen in its ability to reach different people across world. This is a means of spiritual communication within the virtual world. Anybody can develop this kind of service. This service is for learning, understanding and knowing about the Almighty One within the internet Eucharist - just by clicking on a site. Yet, the leaders of Internet churches should recognize that Christians believe that the most important relationship in our devotion is our personal relationship to God. It is also important to know and remember that our primary responsibility is to spread the good news to our neighbors, regardless of age and distance. Are we going to use the old method or we will apply the most modern way of reaching people and that is through the internet?

2.2. Permissions to the internet Eucharist

¹¹⁶⁵ In *Christian Solider*, p.135. Quoted in Tony Sergeant, *The Sacred Anointing* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1994), p. 54.

In the Methodist Society, Wesley strongly expressed the view that only the ordained pastors can administrate the Eucharist in accordance with church tradition. Today the Methodist conference may need to decide who can establish the internet church and manage the Eucharistic service. Presently the implementing of the internet Eucharist is more widely practiced amongst Protestants rather than the Catholic churches who maintain Eucharistic service every Sunday. In fact at the moment there is no means of monitoring the internet church and Eucharistic modes online or of acting to cease such practices. There is a risk that it cannot be judged whether an internet church is authorised by a qualified church. This might need investigation in order to steer the development of internet Eucharist in each denomination. If it is not proper the church committee can advise that the site is reinforced or closed down so long as this decision arises from a concern for mission rather than church politics. It links very much with a tension that Wesley concerned the true Christian rather than the Methodist Connexion, that is real 'Methodist'. In the long term, it can be suggested that if the Methodist church has an integrated management in terms of internet church for the church missions it can reflect the character of contemporary Methodism. Wesley's Eucharistic assurance can be conveyed in an internet context through action-orientated programs where people are actually practicing what they have just been taught. If the therapeutic aspect of the spirituality is the theme, then a communion and healing service could be conducted by qualified ordained ministers.

Can an internet Eucharist by transforming of Eucharistic languages, the use of new formats of arranged sounds/music and communications help to revive Eucharistic Methodism? Without long term practice of Eucharist observance it is not possible to know if this will be successful or not.

It is time to consider that if there are qualified administrators appointed by the Church. One

thing to note is the different theological views and practical modes of different denominations. In cyberspace there could be a second missional confusion as seen in the early 20th century which led to the development of the ecumenical movement. Each denomination should discuss and agree the justification of the internet Eucharist and to need appoint internet administrators as a minister or team. They can exercise authority with regards to 'core' Eucharistic teachings, training, requirements or development of Eucharistic modes.

2.3. The limit of physical fellowship

When planting an internet church it is important not to ignore the established churches. It should be recognized that some people cannot attend local churches for physical reasons, or uncomfortable relationship with church members, or because some work on Sundays at a distance. Some in special places (ships, plane, trip, prison, hospital, army) cannot attend local churches. Some may want to attend a particular church/minister across the world. The internet provides a variety of choice of worship leaders and churches. It can stimulate local churches to develop a more spiritual life. In addition it enables the development of mission to a new internet generation in an era of globalization.

Some may still ask how such communicants can have the physical fellowship that Wesley stressed. This would be a task for the internet administrator who has a responsibility to teach, train and investigate before and after the Eucharist. Also the administrator needs to be encouraged to share their experiences in the real world and to attend in local church community.

2.4. Unknown Effects

In the future, some will be researching if within the internet Eucharist it is possible to discern if the Holy Spirit is working as well and considering the nature of Christian intention and the development of Christian perfection on cyberspace. Some might worry about how internet communicants make face to face relationship in the real world. Because of this worry they hesitate to implement the new paradigm of Eucharistic life in cyberspace. Behind the hesitation would be a worry about the loss of an opportunity to see the presence of Christ working in the church. So it is important to recall the Moravian quietism which Wesley condemned before founding the Methodist movement which now reaches every corner of the World. It is further important be reminded of Wesley's Eucharistic ecclesiology and conviction that constant Eucharist leads to a strengthened spirituality and arises from a faith conviction of Christ's real presence which is very close to axiom of incarnation church that 'the Eucharist let be the Church'.

Part V

Conclusion

In this conclusion, I would like to state two things. The first is a summary of the argument points. The second is what the thesis aimed has achieved.

1. Summary of arguments

Since the late 20th century the internet has become the most powerful tool of communication in history and we have seen the development of internet churches implementing the Eucharist online. However there has not been any public theological agreement about such developments between churches even within single denominations such as Methodist churches even though the numbers of internet churches and Eucharistic groups has sharply increased across the globe. Therefore this thesis set out to find out the possibility of using the development of an internet Eucharist based on John Wesley's Eucharistic fervor in

theology and in practice.

1.1. Recovering the theology of Eucharist

First of all, before considering any forms of Eucharistic practice it was important to explore its theology. Through this study we have seen that the success of the early Methodists led by Wesley was founded on a strong Eucharistic theology and practice. After Wesley there have been some Methodist theologians and church leaders who have endeavoured to retain its theology and practice. However the interest within Methodism in Eucharist theology and frequent Eucharist has declined for various reasons such as scandal, argument or theological disputes.

Part II revealed the essence of Wesley's theology and practice, noting that it was formed by his exploration of a wide variety of materials from the early Fathers to contemporary Western and Eastern tradition, both Catholic and Protestants Wesley asserted that constant receiving of the Eucharist was necessary for the development of Christian perfection. He first of all stressed the authority of the Scripture and obedience to the commands of Jesus to administrate the Eucharist. Using the methods of how Eucharistic celebration traditionally works, Wesley referred to following the church's tradition and developed his own most rational understanding of frequent administrations of Eucharist.

It seems that Wesley vividly recognised and was concerned about the Anglican Eucharist, which was being influenced by main routines of church histories from ancient Eucharistic theology and practice, as well as the reformation of protestant Eucharistic theology and practice such as Nonjuror and Calvinism. Wesley had the theological agreement with Brevint seen in the *HLS* and practically regarding how often Wesley agreed with Calvin's understanding of 'frequent'. But what differ from Calvin in Eucharistic practice was that

Wesley deeded himself and in Methodists.

1.2. Eucharist in the Church

In the concept of ministry, the Eucharist for Wesley is understood in terms of the means of grace. Wesley stressed that it is Jesus who gives the visible mean of grace, the Eucharist, for Christian perfection. Theologically, Wesley understood it as the memorial place where Christ (presence of God) is encountered, divine initiative: Sacrifice and our offering, spiritual Healing and eschatological dimension.

For Wesley as a priest, Eucharistic worship is central to Christian faith and life, and there is a vital inter-connection between the Eucharistic theology, practice and life until the final glorification in heaven. Wesley's Eucharistic worship should also be seen in relation to his ecclesiological motives. Between the axiom of Christians¹¹⁶⁶ and how to experience the axiom there is an unending argument regarding the observance of the Eucharist. Wesley recognized that the core of this argument relates to debates about whether obedience to Christ's command represents an instituted means of grace or not. For Christians the Eucharist is a mysterious experience of the love of God, the presence of Christ at the communion Table.

1.3. Wesley the real practical liturgist

Wesley was a real communionist during his whole life with scriptural, traditional, and theological understanding of Eucharist as well as experimental practice. Wesley's

¹¹⁶⁶ In the incarnation God becomes a person – Jesus of Nazareth. The Scripture says about his birth, living-life, death of redemption on the cross and resurrection. In the first chapter of the Gospel of John, it says, “the Word became flesh and lived among us” (v.14). This means that the Word “pitched tent” with us (Heb. 2:17). This logic is the unique and unchangeable Christian axiom. Christians can state that ‘It's not the church of God that has a mission, but the God of mission who has a church.’(Tim Dearborn, quoted in *Mission-shaped Church*, p. 85.)

Eucharistic observation throughout his life reveals how seriously he felt about the importance of the Eucharistic life to Methodists. He experienced its effectiveness in relation to examples of healing at Methodist communion services. One of the problems in today's ministry is practical recovery of Wesley's Eucharistic practice in the church ministry.

1.4. Prudential Means of Grace and Revealing the Internet Eucharist.

The concept of the Means of grace in Wesley's ministry has provided the central principle of Eucharistic ministry. There are two means of grace. Wesley's Eucharistic ministry can be described in the Means of Grace: Instituted and Prudential. The Eucharist belongs to the Instituted means of grace but there can be many culturally contextual prudential means of grace as well. The prudential means of grace are understood to reveal the essentials/Love as well as the instituted means of grace. Therefore to implement the Eucharist in all of its aspects including visible and invisible resources can be prudential means of grace. Wesley therefore can be called a cultural conversionist for the Eucharist.

For Wesley the Instituted means of grace has to be retained at all times in Christian life. But its purpose of the Instituted can be reformed in different contexts in terms of human conditions, defining the prudential means of grace.

The place of Internet Eucharist is to retain the instituted means of grace as well as being prudential. The understanding of the concept of the prudential stimulates that the emerging of the Internet Eucharist requests a representation of the origins of Eucharistic theology and its historical meanings and translations to new generations in new cultural changes.

1.5. The understanding of Eucharistic theology and faithful intention

Wesley strived to transmit his faithful intention in the theological conviction that wears the divine culture of the Eucharist (Blessing, Breaking, sharing and Drinking: Bread and Wine)

and all opinions for effective celebrations of the table: Prayer, Singing, conference, and so on.

Transmission of faithful intention on the internet church can enable people to develop active spiritual relationships and the purpose of instituted means of grace. This can represent a new model of the church.

The internet, as a part of culture, even though it reflects the new concept of cyberspace, can be a divine site for the Eucharistic celebration of sacraments. It should be used with conviction that transmits the intention of Christian faith. This results in a more effective usage of the internet to facilitate communication and capacity to enable people to express their faithful intention online. Intention in the aim of internet Eucharist has with human's ability of memory, imagination and hope through its stable structures.¹¹⁶⁷ The internet can provide the best means for following Wesley's theology of the Presence of Jesus and enable the frequent celebration of the Eucharist for communicants.

This study has shown that through the development of an internet church the communion of the Christian community will not be eradicated. The presence of a community of believers or individuals before a monitor or screen can visit or invite the ordained minister through the internet for the Eucharist. The internet Eucharist needs new forms of celebration because of space obstacles through cyberspace rather than in real space. As a good example, preparation of Bread and Wine by receivers themselves is generally recommended.

1.6. Issue of between Internet Eucharist and denomination

Wesley struggled with issues regarding Eucharistic events such as rebaptism, quietism and ordination for oversea missions as well as when he had evangelical issues. Wesley

¹¹⁶⁷ Peter Atkins, *Memory and Liturgy: The Place of Memory in the Composition and Practice of Liturgy* (Hants: Ashgate, 2004), pp.126-136.

recognised the problems and the importance of the Church order and regulations. When he faced evangelical issues which he had to discuss within the church orders, he tried to express what was between his highly evangelical mindset and the church order clearly.

These days some in a denomination may or may not issue the Internet Eucharist in his/her church order or regulations. If some have an issue about the revealing of Internet church or cyber Eucharist, it should be in discussions in church conferences or in other forms. It may or may not be an issue in terms of denominations. Church ministers should follow the result of church conferences for the Church order.

1.7. Unfinished issue: Eucharist

The seriousness of Eucharistic controversies from the early church to today has not finished. I believe that Wesley is one of most liturgical theologians in Christian history. He studied many Eucharistic resources. Then he left its convincing results in writings and practical ways in Methodist churches.

However, the different Eucharistic views exist in the form of Christian churches. To sort out this issue there have been many endeavours between churches since the last century. An example is the Lima document, *BEM* which reflects how many Christian churches may and may not agree with the Eucharistic life. The Methodist in the WCC is at the least one of most leading churches to support Eucharistic life.

Meanwhile, I have recognized in the modern day that Christian churches should have reevaluated the Eucharist in the era of multi-religious societies to compare or to dialog with other religious groups. The issue regarding the Eucharist would never be ended with the second incarnation of Jesus.

2. Achievements

2.1. Recovery of Wesley's Eucharistic life

One of most successful achievement for me in this study is the recognition about Wesley's Eucharistic life. Even in the Methodists there have been hardly studies about Wesley's Eucharist. After the reunion between Methodists in the UK there were some remarkable studies to recover Wesley's Eucharistic theology and practice between 40's and 80's in the last century. In the context of the 2010's it is true that no many Methodists are interested in the recovery of his theology and practice. For this generation the essence of Eucharistic theology and practice should have been restudied by today's church leaders.

2.2. Eucharist for people

I believe that the Eucharist should not be stayed in the understanding of denomination politic or favours of ministerial methods. For Wesley the Eucharist is the command of Jesus, the Lord of world. That is evangelical. Between the command and people the administrations for the Eucharist should not be filtered by any controllers. All church posts of ministers or church orders should be to help communicants attend in the Holy Table.

In this understanding the internet Eucharist should be understood. The Eucharist instituted by the love of living God is for the obedience to the Lord and for people including baptized Christians and potential Christians across world.

2.3. Is internet Eucharist possible in the Methodism?

Through this study, what I have achieved can be sorted in three components. Two of them involve Wesley. First is the rediscovery of John Wesley's Eucharistic passion in theology and Practice. Wesley gives me the justification of Eucharistic life. Second is Wesley's ministerial

methodology of the Means of grace. This provides confused ministers about how to interpret new cultures on the insight of ministry. Aside from those two components, lastly what is needed is context. New cultural conditions or contexts involve the renewal of the Eucharistic life. The issue of the internet Eucharist motivates the recovery of the Christian spirituality for today's Christian life.

Most theological issues and practices should be retranslated regarding new generations, new cultures and circumstances. Without this, the valuation of Christian faith across the globe in the modern generation may diminish and in effect, may come to be less active in several places. The revealing of cyber space stimulates new possibilities for the works of Christian faith in theology and in practice.

Finding out answers to the emerging question, 'is the internet Eucharist possible?' of course depends on individuals or denominations in terms of theological understanding and their church regulations.

I would give a positive response to the emerging question based in terms of John Wesley's understanding of evangelical Eucharistic theology. Wesley's conviction of frequent participation at the Communion Table was made throughout his fervor of Eucharistic researches from the early churches to the end of his life.

Appendix 1

The list of John Wesley's Sermons

Ordered in Albert Outler, *the works of John Wesley* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1986)

1. Salvation by Faith
2. The Almost Christian
3. Awake, Thou That Sleepiest
4. Scriptural Christianity
5. Justification by Faith
6. The Righteousness of Faith
7. The Way of the Kingdom
8. The First Fruits of the Spirit
9. The Spirit of Bondage and of Adoption
10. The Witness of the Spirit, One
11. The Witness of the Spirit, Two
12. The Witness of our own Spirit
13. On Sin in Believers
14. The Repentance of Believers
15. The Great Assize
16. The Means of Grace
17. The Circumcision of the Heart
18. The Marks of the New Birth
19. The Great Privilege of Those that are Born of God
20. The Lord Our Righteousness

21. Sermon on the Mount, One
22. Sermon on the Mount, Two
23. Sermon on the Mount, Three
24. Sermon on the Mount, Four
25. Sermon on the Mount, Five
26. Sermon on the Mount, Six
27. Sermon on the Mount, Seven
28. Sermon on the Mount, Eight
29. Sermon on the Mount, Nine
30. Sermon on the Mount, Ten
31. Sermon on the Mount, Eleven
32. Sermon on the Mount, Twelve
33. Sermon on the Mount, Thirteen
34. The Original, Nature, Property, and Use of Law
35. The Law Established through Faith: Discourse One
36. The Law Established through Faith: Discourse Two
37. The Nature of Enthusiasm
38. A Caution against Bigotry
39. Catholic Spirit
40. Christian Perfection
41. Wandering Thoughts
42. Satan's Devices
43. The Scripture Way of Salvation
44. Original Sin
45. The New Birth
46. The Wilderness State
47. Heaviness through Manifold Temptations
48. Self-Denial
49. The Cure of Evil Speaking
50. The Use of Money
51. The Good Steward
52. The Reformation of Manners
53. On the Death of Mr. Whitefield
54. On Eternity
55. On the Trinity
56. God's Approbation of his Works
57. On the Fall of Man
58. On Predestination
59. God's Love to Fallen Man
60. The General Deliverance
61. The Mystery of Iniquity
62. The End of Christ's Coming
63. The General Spread of the
64. The New Creation
65. The Duty of Reproving our Neighbour
66. The Signs of the Times
67. On Divine Providence
68. The Wisdom of God's Counsels
69. Imperfection of Human Knowledge
70. The Case of Reason Impartially Considered
71. Of Good Angels
72. Of Evil Angels
73. Of Hell
74. Of the Church

75. On Schism
76. On Perfection
77. Spiritual Worship
78. Spiritual Idolatry
79. On Dissipation
80. On Friendship with the World
81. In What Sense We Are to Leave the World
82. On Temptation
83. On Patience
84. The Important Question
85. On Working out Own Salvation
86. A Call to Backsliders
87. The Danger of Riches
88. On Dress
89. The More Excellent Way
90. An Israelite Indeed
91. On Charity
92. On Zeal
93. On Redeeming the Time
94. On Family Religion
95. On the Education of Children
96. On Obedience to Parents
97. On Obedience to Pastors
98. On Visiting the Sick
99. The Reward of Righteousness
100. On Pleasing all Men
101. The Duty of Constant Communion
102. Of Former Times
103. What is Man?
104. On Attending the Church Service
105. On Conscience
106. On Faith
107. On God's Vineyard
108. On Riches
109. The Trouble and Rest of Good Man
110. Free Grace
111. National Sins and Miseries
112. On Laying the Foundation of the New Chapel
113. The Late Work of God in North America
114. On the Death of John Fletcher
115. Dives and Lazarus
116. What is Man?
117. On the Discoveries of Faith
118. On the Omnipresence of God
119. Walking by Sight, and Walking by Faith
120. The Unity of the Divine Being
121. Prophets and Priests - the Ministerial Office
122. Causes of the Inefficacy of Christianity
123. On Knowing Christ after the Flesh
124. Human Life a Dream
125. On the Single Eye
126. On Worldly Folly
127. On the Wedding Garment
128. On the Deceitfulness of the Human Heart

129. The Heavenly Treasure in Earthen Vessels
130. On Living without God
131. On the Danger of Increasing Riches
132. On Faith
133. Death and Deliverance / On the Death of the Rev. Mr. John Fletcher
134. Seek First the Kingdom
135. On Guardian Angels
136. On Mourning the Dead
137. On Corrupting the Word of God
- 138A. On Dissimulation
- 138B-C. Two Fragments on Dissimulation
139. On the Sabbath
140. The Promise of Understanding
141. The image of God
142. The Wisdom of Winning Souls
143. Public Diversions Denounced
144. The Love of God
145. The Earth as in Heaven, a fragment
146. The One thing Needful
147. Wiser than the Children of Light
148. A Single intention.
149. On Love
150. Hypocrisy in Oxford, English text
151. Hypocrisy in Oxford, Latin text.

Appendix 2

The list of Wesley's Sermon 30's to 40s.

(it is from that Wesley's Sermons Chronologically Ordered are those given in Thomas Jackson's 1872 edition of Wesley's Works which can be seen in *WesleyanTheological Journal* (17/2, Fall 1982) and in the Bicentennial Edition of *the Works of John Wesley, Volumes I-IV*, Nashville :Abingdon Press)

1730s.

June 7, 1738 Salvation by Faith (Sermon 1) – preached again on June 11, 1738
 Apr. 25, 1739 The Spirit of Bondage and of Adoption (Sermon 9) 1746
 Apr. 29, 1739 Free Grace (Sermon 128)
 July 21, 1739 Sermon on the Mount, 1 (Sermon 21) 1748
 July 21, 1739 Sermon on the Mount, 2 (Sermon 22) 1748
 July 21, 1739 Sermon on the Mount, 3 (Sermon 23) 1748
 Sept. 23, 1739 The Great Privilege of Those that are Born of God (Sermon 19)1748
 Oct. 6, 1739 Justification by Faith (Sermon 5) 1746
 Nov. 11, 1739 Christian Perfection (Sermon 40) 1741
 Nov. 15, 1739 The Means of Grace (Sermon 16) 1746

1740s

Oct. 22-26, 1740 Sermon on the Mount, 4 (Sermon 24) 1748
 Oct. 22-26, 1740 Sermon on the Mount, 5 (Sermon 25) 1748

Oct. 22-26, 1740 Sermon on the Mount, 6 (Sermon 26) 1748

Apr. 3, 1741 The Marks of the New Birth (Sermon 18) 1748

June 24, 1741 True Christianity Defended (Sermon 134)

June 27, 1741 The Law Established through Faith: One (Sermon 35) 1750

July 25, 1741 The Almost Christian (Sermon 2)

Oct. 18, 1741 The Righteousness of Faith (Sermon 6) 1746

Apr. 4, 1742 Awake, Thou That sleepest (Sermon 3)

June 2, 1742 Sermon on the Mount, 10 (Sermon 30) 1750

June 6, 1742 The Way of the Kingdom (Sermon 7) 1746

Jan. 30, 1743 Sermon on the Mount, 12 (Sermon 32) 1750

May 29, 1743 The New Birth (Sermon 45) 1760

Feb. 17, 1744 The Use of Money (Sermon 50) 1760

Aug. 24, 1744 Scriptural Christianity (Sermon 4)

June 25, 1745 The First Fruits of the Spirit (Sermon 8) 1746

May-June 1746 The Witness of the Spirit, One (Sermon 10) 1746

May-June 1746 The Means of Grace (Sermon 16) 1746

May-June 1746 The Witness of our own Spirit (Sermon 12) 1746

Nov. 1-16, 1747 Sermon on the Mount, 7 (Sermon 27) 1748

Nov. 1-16, 1747 Sermon on the Mount, 8 (Sermon 28) 1748

Nov. 1-16, 1747 Sermon on the Mount, 9 (Sermon 29) 1748

Sept. 8, 1749 Catholic Spirit (Sermon 39) 1750

Nov. 1-7. 1749 Sermon on the Mount, 11 (Sermon 31) 1750

Nov. 1-7. 1749 Sermon on the Mount, 13 (Sermon 33) 1750

Nov. 1-7. 1749 The Law Established through Faith: Two (Sermon 36) 1750

Nov. 1-7. 1749 The Original, Nature, Property, and Use of the Law (Sermon 34) 1750

Nov. 1-7. 1749 The Nature of Enthusiasm (Sermon 37) 1750

Nov. 1-7. 1749 A Caution against Bigotry (Sermon 38) 1750

Nov. 1-7. 1749 Satan's Devices (Sermon 42) 1750

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